

AN ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS AFFECTING  
THE TRADITIONAL STREETS IN SANHSIA AND TAHSI, TAIWAN

A Thesis

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by

Yi-Hsin Lo

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## ABSTRACT

With the rising popularity of tourism in Taiwan, many traditional streets that were shabby have been noticed, restored and continue to be preserved. However, the tangible and intangible environments of these traditional streets have changed. This thesis is a case study which examines two traditional streets in Taiwan, focusing on the influence of community-based organizations during the preservation, restoration, and management process. The Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional display spectacular shophouses, and have similar development and economic backgrounds. In Sanhsia, the conflict between commercial interests and local culture is obvious. Tourism is considered more important than the needs of residents. However, in the Tahsi case, some businesses on the traditional street maintain their traditional appearance and products and pay attention to the needs of the residents.

The thesis begins with a look at the development of streets and industries, their decay, and redevelopment focusing on the Sanhsia and the Tahsi Historic Districts. Chapter two discusses preservation movements and restoration processes on Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets and the establishment of organizations. Chapter three first reveals the results of preservation and restoration on the Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets and compares the two. The second part of chapter three focuses on the structures, roles and functions of community-based organizations, and examines the support of government policies to figure out the reason for the different results. The analysis reveals continued promotion and evoking a sense of community by community-based organizations is the key concern in retaining the original cultural fabric on the traditional streets although the support of local government also provided great help. Moreover, government policies intended to stimulate business on the

traditional streets should be combined with community development and empowering residents so that the effects can be sustained.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Yi-Hsin grew up in Taipei, Taiwan. She received her Bachelor of Arts in Land Economics and Administration from National Taipei University in 1998. She continued her education at the Graduate Institute of Urban Planning at National Taipei University in 2001. After graduation, she became involved with planning work in Central Engineering Consultant and Research Incorporated and in the Department of Urban Development, Taipei City Government, Taiwan.

In the fall of 2007, Yi-Hsin began studies in Historic Preservation Planning at Cornell University. During the summer of 2008, she worked at the National Taiwan Museum as an intern dedicated to restoring the Ministry of Railways Building.

To the Individuals with Me on This Journey.

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## INTRODUCTION

In many Taiwanese villages, traditional streets served as markets and the center of social activity. Whether the village was located at the intersection of rivers, between mountains or in the plains, the traditional main street continued to be the most important gathering place for Chinese residents and immigrants. In 2002, only 49 traditional streets remained in Taiwan<sup>1</sup>. In an attempt to understand those that remain, the historian Miin-Yi Lo classified the spatial development of traditional streets in Northern Taiwan into three categories: commercially motivated, those in transformation, and others that involved those in stable long-term activities<sup>2</sup>. Many previous theses have discussed the spatial commercialization of traditional streets such as that in Danshui<sup>3</sup>. However, most of the streets undergoing transformation also have special value because of their old shophouses. Examples include the traditional streets in Sansia, Tahsi and Houko. These seldom exist with the other two types of streets. This has caused conflict between people who would like to see more preservation and those who want more re-development. Among the traditional streets in Sanshia, Tahsi and Houko, the first two streets have a similar historical background. Both were prosperous around the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century because of the development of mountain resources and river transportation. However, when river transportation was replaced with land transportation, these traditional streets gradually became shabby. Not until the threats of elimination by urban renewal programs were people reminded of their existence and value. This thesis takes traditional streets in two communities — Sanshia and Tahsi — as study cases.

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<sup>1</sup> Chao-Yuan Huang, *The Traditional Street in Taiwan* (Taipei: Hsintien: Yuantsu Culture, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Miin-Yi Lo, "Social and Economical Analysis of Traditional Street's Development in Taiwan-A Study of Northern Taiwan." (MA thesis, National Taipei University, 2003), 4-22-4-23.

<sup>3</sup> The phonetics used throughout this thesis is Wade-giles which is more familiar for Taiwanese and is used as most of the names of places in Taiwan.



Source: CIA Taiwan Map, 1992

The examples were preserved and restored but the manner in which they were saved is very different. On the one hand, the preservation movement for the Sansia Traditional Street struggled and went through a complicated political process. Trough

that process, grassroots consciousness and community-based organizations — the Rescue Committee, the Redevelopment Committee of Mingchuan Street in Sansia, and the Sanchiaoyung Association (formerly Sanchiaoyung Historic Society) — emerged spontaneously. After the designation of the Sansia Traditional Street, the Minister of the Council for Cultural Affairs provided 300,000,000 NT dollars to restore shophouses on traditional streets. In addition, after the restoration, the Sanhsia Tradition Street Management Committee was established with the government's encouragement.

The preservation movement for traditional streets in Tahsi, on the other hand, was supported by the Chief of the Tahsi Township Office and went much more smoothly. After the designation, the development of a community project, the Beautification of Historic Village and the Development of Community Project in Tahsi, Taoyuan, was conducted by Prof. Tzu- Feng Tseng at the Tahsi Traditional Street. The project set up a Tsaotienwei Workshop and encouraged the recognition of shophouses among the inhabitants of Hoping Road and encouraged the establishment of a community-based organization called Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society, which followed the missions of the Tsaotienwei Workshop. Later, the Tahsi Commercial District Renewal Project promoted the establishment of the Tahsi Image Business District Association.

This initiative successfully preserved the original shophouses, brought many tourists, and significant economic benefits to the merchants on the streets. However, successful preservation should not only preserve tangible buildings, but also retain the fabric of the original community and local culture in the area.

The different paths of the preservation and the restoration of Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets had different effects on the two areas. The Sanhsia case shows the conflict between commercial versus local culture and tourism, as it affected the living

of inhabitants. In Sanhsia, after the restoration, the texture of the community was altered. More than 80% of the stores were transplanted from outside of Sanhsia, and they did not represent traditional industries of the community. Some of the original stores moved from the front to the back rooms of shophouses, or had to share a storefront with other new store owners because of unreasonably high rent. Traditional industries almost disappeared on Sanhsia's Traditional Street. Although new products were created to replace traditional ones such as croissants and black pudding to replace traditional ones, soon these new offerings were duplicated by other stores on the Sanhsia Traditional Street, so that their uniqueness was lost. Besides that, many stores on Sanhsia Traditional Street were transplanted from other traditional streets in Taiwan, so that the street seems to have lost its character after the restoration.

The situation in Tahsi is different. There, after the restoration, 66.7% of the stores on the traditional streets<sup>4</sup> are owned by their original residents. And, some traditional businesses still exist and maintain their traditional methods and appearances. Tahsi has 40 wood furniture stores (wood altars) and most have been located there for more than 40 years. To attract tourists, the traditional furniture stores began to create new products such as wood sculptures. In addition, the stores are closer to where residents live, providing everyday services on the traditional streets in Tahsi where space is shared by residents and tourists.

The concept of traditional streets in this thesis includes people living and working in the two communities. Looking at the process of the preservation, restoration, and management of the traditional streets, the projects conducted by the government and actions of community-based organizations were the main forces initiating preservation and influencing the development of traditional streets. Therefore, this thesis is a case study that focuses on the structures and behaviors of

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<sup>4</sup> This statistic represents the Hoping Road in the Tahsi Historic District.

community-based organizations on those streets, and on the projects executed by the government. Finally, this thesis will clarify the reasons for the different results found during the developmental process of these traditional streets, and will intend to find ways to sustain the original communities and local culture on the traditional streets.

Secondary sources used for the this thesis include the reports on the projects conducted by the government, such as the final report of the Beautification of Historic Village and the Development of Community Project in Tahsi, Taoyuan, and the final report of the Tahsi Image Business District, as well as history books and maps of Tahsi and Sanhsia, such as the Blue Gold Legend—the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo. This statistic represents the Hoping Road in the Tahsi Historic District. Primary sources include: the calendar, minutes, meeting brochures, publications and records of the organizations for Sanhsia and Tashi traditional streets.

Other important sources were newspapers and oral interviews conducted with leaders of the organizations: the President of the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society, the Chief Executive of the Tahsi Image Business District Association, the ex-Chief Executive of Sanchiaoyung Association, the President of the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee, and the store owners on the traditional streets. This thesis clarifies how the projects and the organizations' behaviors and management influence the tangible and intangible environments of the Sanhsia and the Tahsi traditional streets.

## CHAPTER ONE

### A HISTORY OF SANHSIA AND TAHSI

#### ***Introduction***

This chapter describes the location and formation of the traditional streets in Sanhsia and Tahsi. The chief focus is on the development and the transformation of local industries and their affect on the societies in these communities. In addition, it provides an outline for the evolution of Sanhsia and Tahsi historic districts.

#### ***The Location and the Plan of Sanhsia***

Sanhsia Town is located at the southwest corner of Taipei County in northern Taiwan (see figure 1.1). Sanhsia was so named because it lies at the intersection of three rivers—the Tahan, Sanhsia and Heng. These are the branches of the Tanshui River. In the northwest section of Sanhsia Town, there are three neighborhoods. These are the Hsiuchuan, Sanhsia, and Yungkuan neighborhoods, all of which are included in the Sanhsia Historic District<sup>5</sup>.

The major throughfare of this part of Sanhsia Town include six streets and one road. They are Mingsheng Street, Hsiuchuan Street, Changfu Street, Mingchuan Street (former Sanchiaoyong Street), Jenai Street, Chungshan Road, and Hoping Street. Among those streets, Mingchuan Street, Hsiuchuan Street, and part of Mingsheng Street were formed during the Ching Dynasty. As will be shown, only the shophouses on Mingchuan Street (also known as Sanhsia Traditional Street) were preserved, while most shophouses on the other two streets were demolished. The Sanhsia Traditional Street is the longest traditional street in Taiwan and it represents not only traditional architecture but also industries and society of the past.

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<sup>5</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, "Reappearance of the Glorious New Sanchiaoyong Street: the Pactice of Cultural Preservation in Sanhsia Traditional Street," *Taipei County Culture* , SEP (2007): 12.

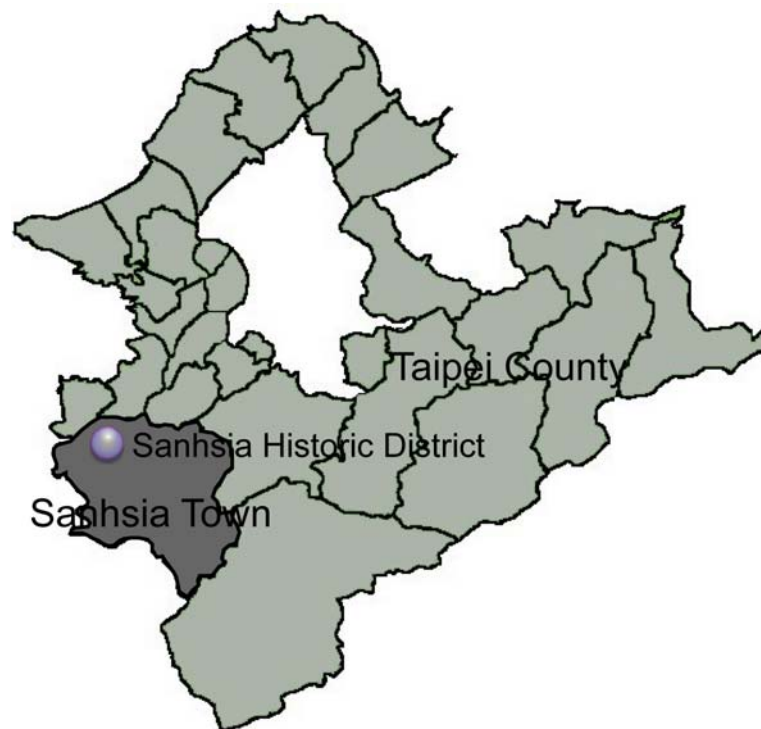


Figure 1.1 Map of Taipei County

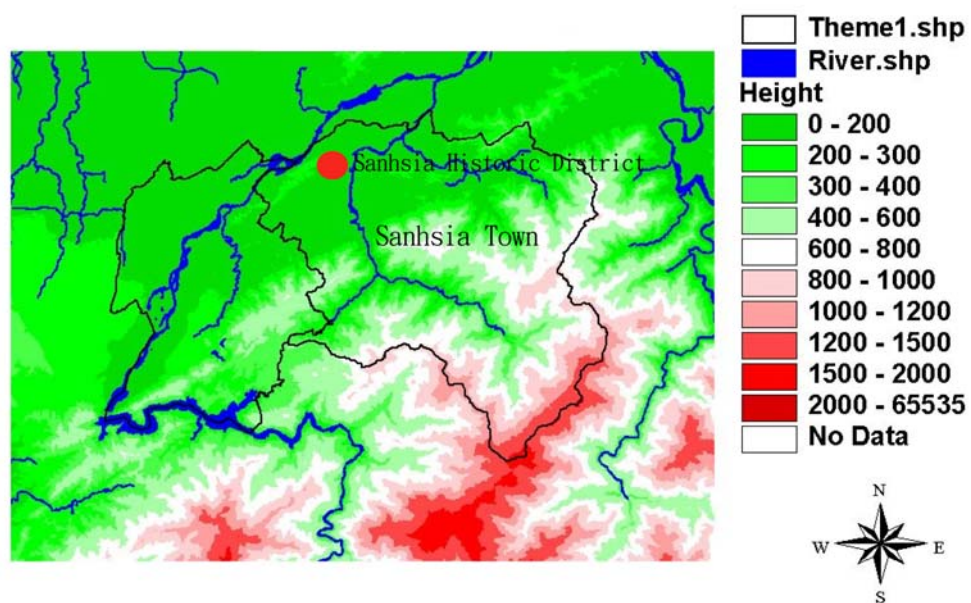


Figure 1.2 Topographic Map of Sanhsia



### ***Origins and Early Settlement of Sanhsia***

The earliest settlement, Tahsi, was called Sanchiaochu by early immigrants from China because it was named that by Atayal Tribes, referring to a triangle of land near confluence of three rivers. No one knows when the name changed, however, old people in Sanchiaoyung said that it altered to “Sanchiaoyung” because the character “chu” means “falter” or “hesitate to move on”, and “Yung” means surge of the river water<sup>6</sup>. Sanchiaoyung was one of the villages administered by Haishan Bao, Chulo County in the Ching Dynasty (see figure 1.3). After that, inhabitants usually called it Sanchiaoyung Street<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, “Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945” (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 7.

<sup>7</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, “Reappearance of the Glorious New Sanchiaoyung Street: the Practice of Cultural Preservation in Sanhsia Traditional Street,” *Taipei County Culture SEP* (2007): 11. National Taipei University, “*The Record of Sanshia Town History*,” National Taipei University, [http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c\\_1/c\\_1\\_013.html](http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c_1/c_1_013.html).



Figure 1.3 Map of Haishan Pao, Chulo County

Source: Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Shophouse: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 33.

In 1895, after Taiwan became a colony of Japan, the colonial government set up a new administrative system. Sanhsia belonged to Heishan Pao, Hsinchu Sub-Prefecture, Taipei County. In 1920, another new administration came into power.

Heishan Pao, Hsinchu Sub-Prefecture, Taipei County was changed to Haishan Prefecture, Taihoku Prefecture, which managed Panchiao, Yingko, Sanhsia, Chungho, Tucheng Villages.

The Taiwanese pronunciation of Sanchiaoyung is similar to the Japanese pronunciation of Sankiyu, so the Japanese changed the name. When Japan surrendered in 1945, it began to return the island, then called Formosa, to Republic of China. The new government changed the names of Taihoku Prefecture to Taipei County, Haishan Prefecture to Haishan District, and Sanhsia Street to Sanhsia Town. After a year, the Haishan District was abolished and its six towns were administered by Taipei County<sup>8</sup>.

The earliest known people to settle in what today is known Sanhsia were Pingpu and Atayal tribes. The Pingpu occupied the flats and practiced agriculture and hunting. The houses of these tribes were made of wood or bamboo and covered by thatch. All families lived in a single, common house. Before 1624, the Pingpu tribes formed a closed society. When immigrants arrived, the aboriginals started to exchange goods with them, and learned about the value of money. They sold deer antlers and their land to the immigrants, and withdrew to more mountainous areas. The Atayal tribes, already located in the mountains, probably continued to hunt for their subsistence. Sometimes they went headhunting in the foothills for their ceremonies, or as revenge for immigrants' incursions.

The first group of immigrants that settled in Haishan Village<sup>9</sup> in the present Nanching Neighborhood, Yingko was led by Yu Chen from Chuanchou, Fuchien in

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<sup>8</sup> National Taipei University, "*The Record of Sanhsia Town History*," National Taipei University, [http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c\\_1/c\\_1\\_013.html](http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c_1/c_1_013.html).

<sup>9</sup> The Haishan Village, included now Sanhsia, Yingge, Shulin, was upgraded to Haishan Pao, included Sanhsia, Yingge, Shulin, and Tahsi, in 1760s. Ten households are one Pai. Ten Pai are one Chai. Ten Chai are one Pao. Therefore, one Pao has about thousand households. (Source from Chih-Hung Wang, "The Settlement Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 23)

1685. However, recent historians question this date because it was only two or three years after the Ching Dynasty brought Taiwan into its territory. The first reliable evidence of the first settlers in Haishan Village is an old contract which noted that Ko Lai, Chen Cheng, Mo Wang, and Kun-Hou Chu, who operated a company Chenhoyi, requested permission to settle in 1713. Most lands around these settlements were occupied by the tribes. The government separated the territories of immigrants from aboriginals with deep trenches<sup>10</sup>. Around 1736, some immigrants from Yingko went across the Takokan River (present Tahan River) to settle near Sanchiaoyung.

Only a few records remain describing the settlement of Sanchiaoyung. After the Ching Dynasty allowed immigrants to settle in Taiwan, some settled in Lungenpu Village (see figure 1.3). In 1745, they constructed the Liutsopu Canal, which was the primary waterway used to irrigate farms. The Li Family from Anhsi County, Chuanchou, Fuchien Province became the first immigrants to settle within present Sanhsia Historic District. This family and its tenant-farmers cultivated Kungkuanwei, which was close to the present Chingshui Street and Hsiuchuan near Mingchuan Street. Another immigrant from Anhsi, Jih-Hsu Tung and his tenant-farmers lived in Sanchiaoyung. In 1755, they built barns and a public office so that the place came to be named “Kungkuan”, which means public office<sup>11</sup>. After this, the abolition of the Law Forbidding Navigating, was announced by the Ching Dynasty, which had the effect of attracting more immigrants to settle in the Sanhsia area. Yuan-Ming Li, Kuo-Kai Li, Jui-Feng Tseng, Chin-Tao Sun, Chih-Yuan Lin, and Chun Huang settled, successively, around 1765 A.D.

Few people settled in Haishan Village during the early years. According to the 1731 census, only 11 persons had settled in Sanhsia. However, the actual number

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<sup>10</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, “Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945” (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 19.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 23.

should be much higher than this because some settlers cultivated crops in Taiwan during spring, summer and fall, and returned to their homeland in winter. After 14 years, although the actual size of the population in Haishan Village is unknown, there were about 20 households in Kanyuan and about 50 to 60 households in Henghsi. In 1764, Haishan Pao contained 10 villages and included 1,600 people<sup>12</sup>.

Most of the immigrants who settled in Sanchiaoyung were from Anhsi County, Chuanchou, Fuchien. After settling down, they decided to build a Tsushih Temple, which commemorates Chingshui Tsushih<sup>13</sup>. In fact, the earliest temple in Sanhsia was the Tutikung Temple<sup>14</sup>. A stele, which was erected near the temple, records that this temple was built in 1736. Later, the inhabitants from Fuchien built the Hsinglung Temple, which commemorated Matsu, on Sanchiaoyung Street, now known as Mingchuan Street. The fourth temple, the Tsaishu Temple, was built on what is now Hsiuchuan Street by seven members of the Li family in 1772. The Fuan Temple was built at what is now 32 Mingchuan Street in 1785. After the Chinese immigrants settled in a new place, they started to build temples for their deities to protect their people and property. All of this demonstrates that the areas around Mingchuan, Hsiuchuan, and Changfu Streets were well-occupied and heavily used at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

After more immigrants from China settled around the Tanshui drainage area, competition for territory between different groups of people was inevitable. Disagreements between the immigrants from Changchou, Anhsi County, Chuanchou and Kuangtung were common before 1859. Ultimately, immigrants from Anhsi,

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<sup>12</sup> National Taipei University, "*The Record of Sanhsia Town History*," National Taipei University, [http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c\\_1/c\\_1\\_013.html](http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c_1/c_1_013.html).

<sup>13</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "The Settlement Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 24.

<sup>14</sup> Tutikung Temple enshrines Tutikung who was the earth deity of wealth and merit.

Chuanhou chased other groups of immigrants out of Haishan Pao, with the exception of Chenfu. Hence, Sanchiaoyung Village was occupied by the Anhsi<sup>15</sup>.

### ***Development of the Sanchiaoyung Streets and the Local Industries***

With a growing number of settlers, business also increased. The Sanchiaoyung Streets area became an important market. At first, there were only seven stores at the north end of the street, in front of the Sanhsia Tsushih Temple. Inhabitants set up vending carts and simple stores in front of the temple, and exchanged agriculture products, poultry, fish, oil, and charcoal. Those resources were brought from the immediate area<sup>16</sup>.

The layout of the community was linear. (See figure 1.4) Streets in Sanchiaoyung ran from north to south due to restrictions of topography. The inhabitants in Sanhsia gradually divided Sanchiaoyung streets into three parts: the Upper Street, the Middle Street, and the Lower Street. The Lower Street was formed between the regency of Chienlung Emperor (1735- 1796 A.D.) and Chiaching Emperor (1796-1820 A.D.) according to old contracts. The Middle Street was formed at the mid-Chiaching Emperor (around 1800 A.D.). The Upper Street was formed much later<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 24, 30.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 30-32.

<sup>17</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 28. And Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 51.

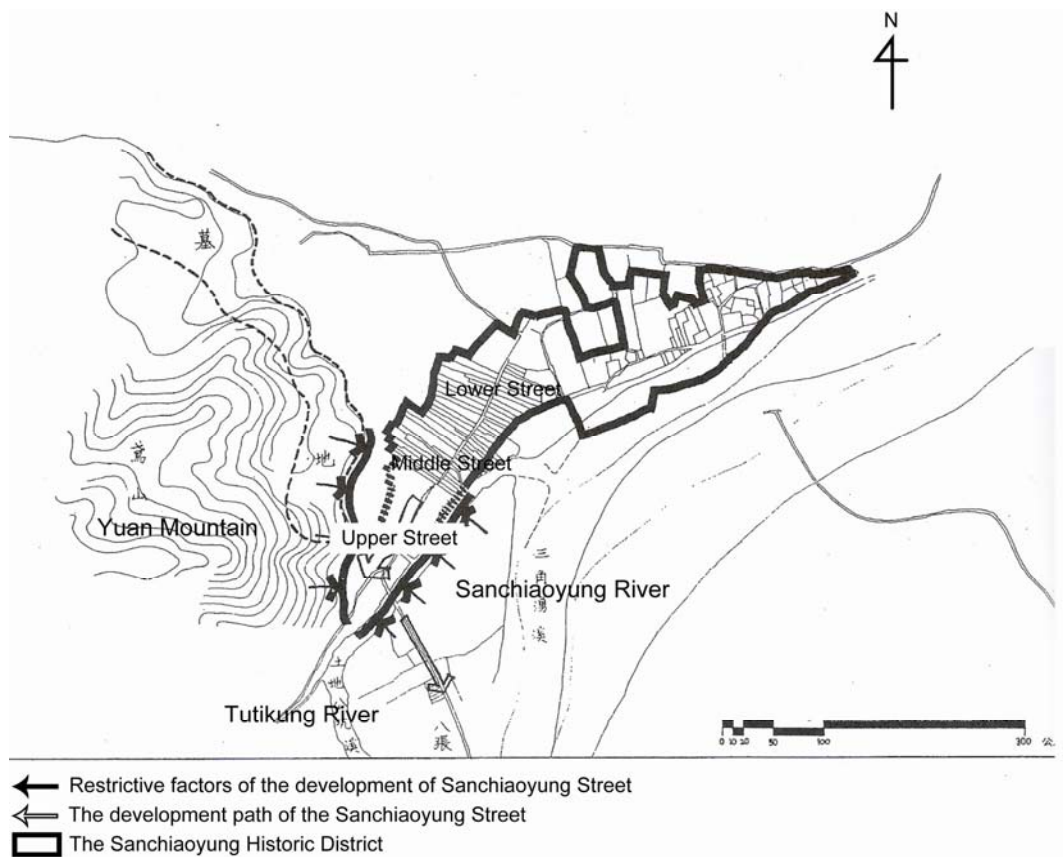


Figure 1.4 The Developmental Area of Sanhsia Streets in the Late Ching Dynasty (around 1880-1900)

Source: Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 39.

The early shophouses along Sanchiaoyung streets were built of earthen bricks with straw. They used wood or bamboo as poles and beams, and thatch as roof material. In 1823, a building contract for 53 Sanchiaoyung Street (present Mingchuan Street) stipulated that it was to be made of red bricks<sup>18</sup>. However, only wealthy inhabitants could afford to construct brick houses<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Hui-Cheng Lin, *The Survey and Research of the Facades of Taoyuan Tahsi, Taipei County Sanhsia, Hsinchu Hukou Traditional Street* (Taipei City: Council of Cultural Affairs, 1989), 152.

<sup>19</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 42.

To support the increasing number of immigrants from China, water was directed onto dry land so that the amount of agriculture could increase. Assam Indigo<sup>20</sup>, which grew around the mountain foot area near Sanhsia, was one of the important income-producing plants for settlers. At first, wild indigo plants were collected but, as the crops were domesticated, the productivity improved. Then, the indigo clothing companies from the port area invested in the growth of a variety of indigo in Sanhsia. For example, the Anhsi merchant Tian Weng, who ran the Chinchucheng Company in Tataocheng, sent Ching Fang to hire Chinese farmers to grow true indigo<sup>21</sup> in Sanhsia in 1822<sup>22</sup>. Later, some local inhabitants started to operate dyehouses on Sanchiaoyung streets.

The indigo clothing industry became one of the most important businesses in Sansia. The clear water of Sanhsia River, abundant quantities of Assam Indigo, and convenient river transportation all contributed to the industry. Several notable merchants operated dyehouses on Sanhsia streets beginning in the 1820s<sup>23</sup>. Anhsi immigrant Tzu-Tseng Lin ran the first dyehouse and indigo clothing store on lower Sanhsia Street during the 1820s. Pang-Fa Chou operated a dyehouse in the middle of Sanhsia Street in the 1850s, and Chung-Yu Chen set up the Hengfenghao Dyehouse nearby in 1870<sup>24</sup>. During this area, the first part of the ordinary shophouse was the store front for indigo business, and the rear of the house was the work place for dyeing<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> The scientific name—*Strobilanthes Cusia*.

<sup>21</sup> The scientific name—*Indigofera Tinctoria*.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>24</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, "Reappearance of the Glorious New Sanchiaoyung Street: the Pactice of Cultural Preservation in Sanhsia Traditional Street," *Taipei County Culture SEP* (2007): 14.

<sup>25</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 117.



Taiwan was also an important location for camphor production, since the mountains were full of camphor laurels. The camphor industry began in Sanhsia in 1825. The Ching Government set up a military office and operated a camphor business, as well. Camphor factories were located at the base of the mountain area adjacent to Sanhsia. Most camphor products were sold to British merchants who were allowed to enter the factories<sup>26</sup>.

In addition to indigo and camphor, Sanhsia became involved with tea production. Anhsi County, Chuanchou, was one of the most important locations for the tea industry in China. Because the majority of the immigrants to Sanhsia were from Anhsi County, many were already skilled at cultivating tea when they arrived. Tea planting in Sanhsia started in the nineteenth century. When John Dodd, who was the Hong Kong manager of Tait & Co. and represented Jardine, Matheson & Co., came to Taiwan for the camphor business, he investigated growing conditions in north Taiwan so that his company decided to invest in the tea business in 1865. As an increasing number of foreign companies involved themselves in the tea market, production increased greatly. Usually, tea was coarsely manufactured and was gathered on the Sanhsia streets. Tea merchants used convenient river transportation to ship rough tea to Tataocheng for advanced manufacturing<sup>27</sup>.

### ***The Golden Age of Sanhsia***

In 1886, after the Sino-French War, Taiwan became a province in China. The first governor of the province, Ming-Chuan Liu, set up a Fukenchu<sup>28</sup> in Taiwan because he discovered that the harassment of settlers by aboriginals around Sanhsia and Tahsi was a serious threat to peace. The headquarters of the Fukenchu was situated in Tahsi because it was the closest settlement village. A branch was located

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 34.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 36.

<sup>28</sup> A Bureau in the mountains for aboriginal management such as pacification and reclamation .

in Sanhsia. Because the Fukenchu needed funds to pacify the aborigines and to increase military capabilities, Ming-Chuan Liu established a Sanchiaoyung Camphor Department. On the one hand, this department managed numerous factories in the mountain area and provided protection for settlers. All camphor products were bought by the department before they were sold to merchants, and the commission provided financial support for local military forces. On the other hand, the Bureau pacified the aborigines by stopping the invasion of their territory<sup>29</sup>.

After Ming-Chuan Liu set up the Fukenchu and the Sanchiaoyung Camphor Department, Sanhsia began to change. The Upper Street gradually formed. As the result of restrictions of topography, Yuan Mountain and the Sanhsia River, however, the shophouses were not as deep as those built to the north<sup>30</sup>.

Sanchiaoyung Street became the primary local market, and the center of trade for camphor, tea and indigo dyes. These products were shipped by river transportation and sold at Manka and Tataocheng. The distance from Sanchiaoyung to Tataocheng is about 20 kilometers. Usually ships set off in the morning from the Sanhsia River to the Takokan River and they took about a half day to make the trip at Tataocheng. The ships stayed at Hsinchuang for a night and returned to Sanhsia the following evening. About 40 to 50 ships transported goods to and fro from Sanchiaoyung to Hsinchuang, Manka, and Tataocheng<sup>31</sup>.

The ships docked near the major temples. The wharf at Sanhsia was situated in the triangular area in front of the Sanhsia Tsushih Temple and the Tsaishu Temple. The Taiwan Pao Map indicates that the wharf was located in front of the Tsaishu Temple

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 36. National Taipei University, "*The Record of Sanhsia Town History*," National Taipei University, [http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c\\_1/c\\_1\\_013.html](http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c_1/c_1_013.html).

<sup>30</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 42.

<sup>31</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 54.

near the Sanhsia River. However, today, this area is in the middle of the Sanhsia River, due to serious erosion of the banks<sup>32</sup>.

This was the golden age of Sanhsia. The village contained about 2,000 inhabitants. Sanhsia's streets boomed as the inhabitants from surrounding area such as Yingko, Shihtouhsi, Taotsaichiao, Maitsaiyuan moved into the more economically prosperous community<sup>33</sup>.

In 1895, after the First Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan was ceded to Japan. The Japanese military landed at an Aodi<sup>34</sup> and moved south. Sanhsia residents united the inhabitants of adjacent towns such as Tahsi and Yingko, and organized a militia of about 5,000 to 6,000 people to resist the occupation. As the topography of Sanhsia was useful for ambushing enemies, the militia won two battles. About 235 Japanese military personnel died in the Longen River Victory and the Fenshuilun Victory on July 13, 1895. However, more Japanese military arrived and set up cannons on the Yintou Mountain to attack Tahsi. After the Japanese military conquered that community, they wanted to avenge their dead and wounded. So, the Japanese returned to massacre the inhabitants of Sanhsia and burn the shophouses. About 500 militiamen and other inhabitants were killed, and about 1,500 houses were burned in Sanhsia Villages. Some Taiwanese militiamen and inhabitants hid in the deep mountains for several years, and others chose to escape the chaos, going to China<sup>35</sup>. Taiwanese resentment against the Japanese continued, however. Three years later, the Sanchiaoyung Police Station was attacked and was burned by hidden militiamen and other inhabitants<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 44.

<sup>33</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 52.

<sup>34</sup> Present Fulung, Taipei County.

<sup>35</sup> National Taipei University, "The Record of Sanhsia Town History," National Taipei University, [http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c\\_1/c\\_1\\_013.html](http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c_1/c_1_013.html).

<sup>36</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan

During the Japanese occupation, the Governor-General of Taiwan monopolized camphor and timber production and distribution. Because of the growing popularity of celluloid<sup>37</sup> after 1890, the demand for camphor increased. A Japanese merchant, Komatsu Kusuya set up 300 cooking stoves to extract camphor at Tapao. The Sanchiaoyung tycoon, Kuo-Chih Chen also established 200 cooking stoves there. The productivity of camphor in Sanchiaoyung area was about 200,000 Chin<sup>38</sup> in 1900, 177,737 Chin in 1901, 103,232 Chin in 1903<sup>39</sup>.

The need for more camphor gradually led to the invasion of the land occupied by aboriginals. The Governor-General of Taiwan tried to subdue the resulting uprising, however, the resistance grew increasingly serious in 1903 and, as a result, the camphor business almost stopped<sup>40</sup>. After 1906, Japanese Government deployed more military personnel to re-control the mountain area, and the revolt was gradually suppressed<sup>41</sup>. After that, the camphor area covered Shihlang, Paishihan Mountain, Chachiao, Shihshantian, and Wuchaitou<sup>42</sup>.

In 1908, a Japanese company called the Mitsui Cooperation gained permission to manage the businesses in the mountains, an area of 11,363.9696 Morgen<sup>43</sup>. At that time Sanhsia inhabitants occupied only 1,663.6 Morgen. By 1915, more than three thousand workers worked in the camphor business<sup>44</sup>. In 1919, the rights to camphor

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University, 1989), 50.

<sup>37</sup> Celluloid is the name of a class of compounds created from nitrocellulose and camphor.

<sup>38</sup> A Chin is equal to 0.5 kilometer.

<sup>39</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 65.

<sup>40</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 31.

<sup>41</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 59.

<sup>42</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 65.

<sup>43</sup> A morgen was a unit of measurement of land in Germany, the Netherlands, and the Dutch colonies, including South Africa. One morgen equals 0.9699 hectares.

<sup>44</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of a Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 59,60.

were transferred to the Taiwan Camphor Cooperation. The number of camphor workers had declined at that point to between 1,200 to 1,300 people<sup>45</sup>. The camphor business declined even more during the 1920s, with only 951 camphor workers in 1924, and only 510 in 1925<sup>46</sup>.

Meanwhile, tea cultivation was encouraged by foreign companies during the late Ching Dynasty. The residents planted tea trees because the profit from tea was higher than that from indigo plants, although they required three to four years to mature. In 1917, a total of 1,331 farmers in Sanhsia and Chenfu grew tea on a total area of 2,887 Morgen. The Mitsui General Partnership Company built tea factories in Tapao and Taliao, and tea farms occupied 0.27 Morgen. The Tapao factory could make tea 4,500 Jin per day, and the Taliao Factory could make 2,500 per day<sup>47</sup>.

The main industry in Sanhsia Village in the late Ching Dynasty remained the production of indigo. There were five indigo factories producing 4,400 Chin indigo dyes in 1904. The use of indigo dyes was worth 22,500 (US) dollars around the beginning of the twentieth century. This business also attracted the investment of A-Niu Chien of Tahsi, who set up the Chienchen Indigo House in Sanchiaoyung Street. When the Japanese began to follow western clothing trends, they also introduced new artificial dyes. This severely affected the future of the dye industry.

In the 1914, twelve indigo factories were located in Sanhsia. In 1930, by contrast, only two or three were left<sup>48</sup>. In a similar fashion, spending on indigo materials in 1941 was only one third of that in 1930. Earnings derived from the sales of clothing in 1941 were less than a half of those in 1930.

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<sup>45</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 65.

<sup>46</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 31. Wang, Chih-Hung, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 59, 60.

<sup>47</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 67.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 154.

While indigo interests declined, the timber and coal mining industries started to boom. Beginning in 1898, the colonial government conducted surveys of forest resources in Taiwan. Then, the aged native trees—Camphor, *Cinnamomum Kanehirai* Hayata, and Taiwan Incense Cedar came to be used for lumber around present-day Manyuehyuan, Sanhsia. In 1908, because of the decline in the number of native trees, the Sanchiaoyung Hsinchih Joint-Stock Company attained permission to re-forest the area around Paichi, Luku, and Kantzushuchia. In 1910, the Mitsui General Partnership Company also re-forested at Paichi, Chihlun, Taliao, Wuliao, Chachiao, and Tongyen. Camphor, Taiwan Acacia, Taiwan Red Pine, Japanese Cedar, and Chinese Fir trees were grown by the companies in a total area of about 5,398.9324 Morgen. Timber was delivered by small railroads after 1917, and collected on the streets in Sanhsia. Therefore, a lot of lumber stores were located on its streets<sup>49</sup>. The coal mine in Sanhsia was located at the west bank of Hsintien River on the border of Sanhsia and Tahsi, near Wukuei, Tsuntzutou, Chenfu, Chachiao, Wuliao, and Paichi. Around 1910, inhabitants of Sanhsia set up the Chenfu Coal Mine Cooperative and began extracting coal in Sanhsia. Later, coal was also extracted from pits in Tapao. In 1927, a small railroad system was set up to deliver coal. Before 1937, the coal mine production in Sanhsia reached to 20,000 ton per month. In 1933, eight pits were mined in Sanhsia: Haishan Pit (Wukuei<sup>50</sup>), Sanhsia Pit (Tsuntzutou), Tahsi Pit (Tahsi), Chenfu Pit (Chenfu), Tapao Pit (Chachiao), Chouho (Tsuntzutou), Wuliao (Wuliao) and Paichi (Paichi). About 1,000 miners were employed in the 1930's<sup>51</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Ni-Na Chiao, *Sanchiaoyung Folklore* (Taipei County Sanhsia Town: Sanhsia Township Office, 2006), 112-113.

<sup>50</sup> The name of the place where the pits were located.

<sup>51</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in the 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 31. Chih-Hung Wang, "The Settlement Development of Sanhsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 59-60. Ni-Na Chiao, *Sanchiaoyung Folklore* (Taipei County Sanhsia Town: Sanhsia Township Office, 2006), 136-143.

After about 10 years, neighborhoods which were burned by the Japanese military during First Sino-Japanese War in 1895 were gradually reconstructed. Sanhsia's area was about 17.25 hectares, and they contained 715 persons and 158 households. Sanchiaoyung Street and the Kungkuanwei Street were two main streets in Sanchiaoyung Village at that time<sup>52</sup>. The curved, irregular streets with different widths remained as the style of the late Ching Dynasty. The length of the streets was similar the distances experienced to today. Two Tutikung Temples were situated at opposite ends of the streets<sup>53</sup>.

During the period of the Japanese occupation, products produced in the mountains continued to be sold on Sanhsia streets. The camphor, tea, timber and indigo industries created a demand for a labor forces, including carriers and workers for the harvest, and produced the main economic income for the people of Sanhsia, and also influenced prosperity on the streets. Commercial streets in Sanhsia attracted nearby inhabitants who wanted to work because the high salaries offered to sales people by the store managers, about 60 to 100 (US) dollars per month. Even the salaries of common workers were about 10 to 20 (US) dollars per month. These shops and stores catered to the wants and need of all the mountain area. Inhabitants of the region usually delivered the products of the mountains and purchased necessities for their homes<sup>54</sup>.

There were about 3,800 inhabitants in Sanhsia, and over 300 households engaged in businesses on Sanchiaoyung Street in 1933. If the areas of Chenfu, Henghsi and Tapu are included in the total, there were more than 500 households

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<sup>52</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 52.

<sup>53</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 30.

<sup>54</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 54, 60.

involved in businesses in Sanhsia Village. In 1937, a Japanese Colonial Government survey concluded that the village contained 52 grocery stores, 35 crop and powder stores, 38 cold drink shops, 19 ice stores, 24 tea houses, 18 meat shops and 42 other stores including one for Chinese medicine, dyehouses, cosmetics stores, clothing stores and travel products shops<sup>55</sup>.

Immigrants from Fuchien and Kuangtung brought not only local industries but also their local buildings—shophouses. These commercial row houses were multifunctional building types commonly seen in areas such as urban Southeast Asia. These elongated buildings have narrow frontages, with two or three sections at the rear that were divided by the internal courtyards. All shophouses faced the street. Arcades with roofs were located in front of storefronts. Usually vendors set their carts with goods in the arcades. The arcades were also public spaces which provided social space for residents and customers. Commercial spaces, which were semi-public, were located on the ground floor in the front section. The factories or storage spaces, which were viewed as semi-private spaces, were in back. Private living quarters were in back or upstairs. Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets had the most gorgeous shophouses among all traditional streets in Taiwan because of their prosperity.

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<sup>55</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 137,139.



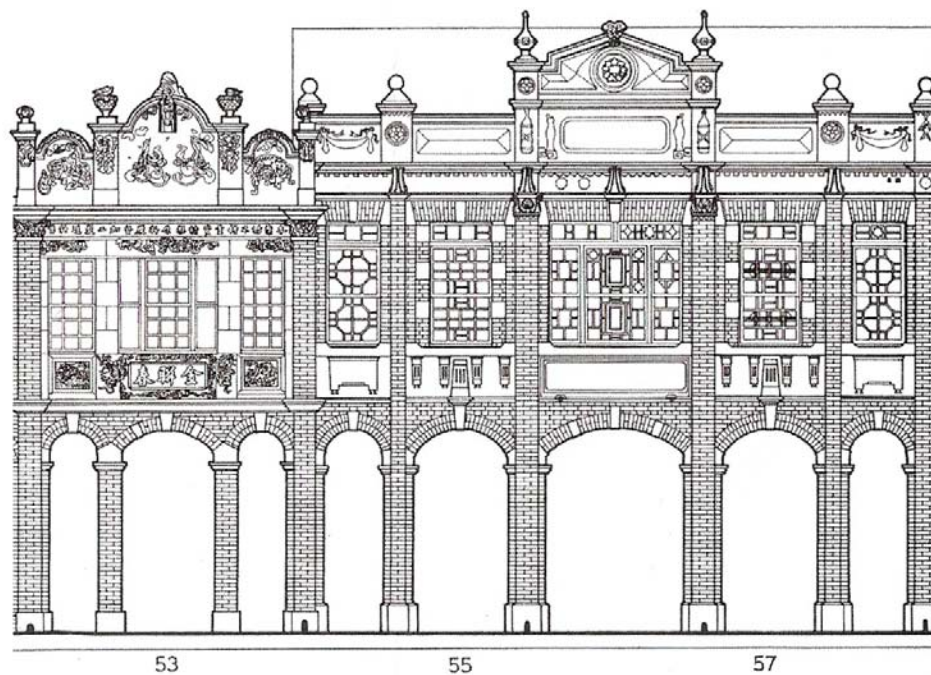


Figure 1.5 Elevation Plan for the Facades on Mingchuan Street  
 Source: Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend-the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo*  
 (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008)

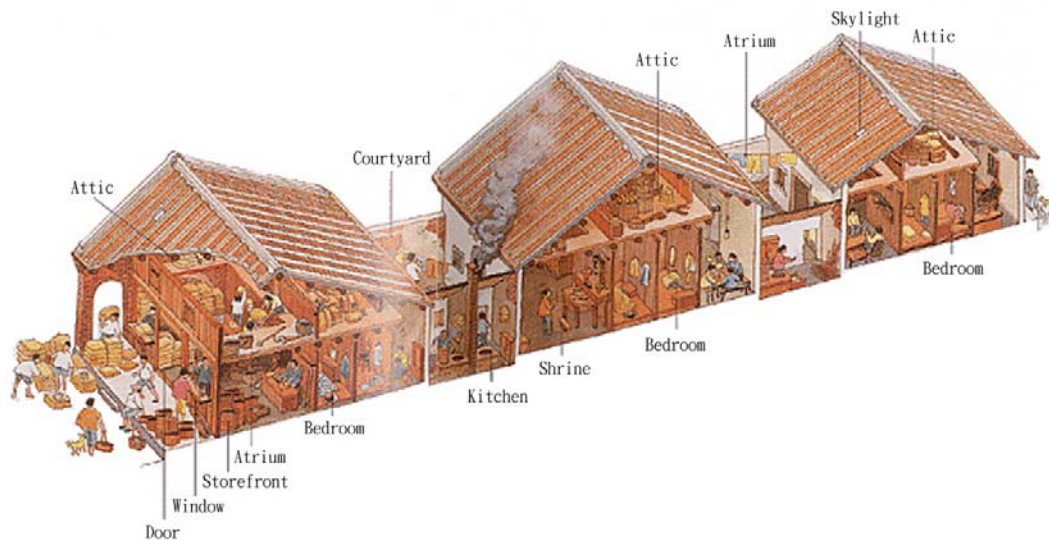


Figure 1.6 Perspective of the Functions of the Shophouses  
Source: Chien-Lang Li, *Introduction of Historic buildings in Taiwan* (Taipei City: Yuan-Liou, 1999), 74-75.

At the beginning of the Japanese Colonial period, streets in Sanhsia Village extended toward the northeast. Mingsheng Street, Chungshan Road, and Hoping Street were newly formed and only contained a few houses at this time<sup>56</sup>.

Meanwhile, the Governor-General of Taiwan considered the condition of streets in Taiwan to be dark, narrow, and unclean, so the Japanese colonial government proclaimed “the Regulation of Taiwan Buildings” in 1900. This cleanup plan was conducted only in larger cities in Taiwan. However, the governor of Sanchiaoyung Sub-prefecture promoted an urban planning project in Sanhsia<sup>57</sup>.

The project included the whole Sanhsia commercial district. The intent was to redesign the streets and provided sewer systems. Streets were widened by two turning points and extending the original narrow, curving streets to six meters wide. The arcades and the facades were torn down but were rebuilt around the winter of

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 134.

<sup>57</sup> Chi Ai, *The Record of Tahsi Town* (Taoyuan: Taoyuan Township Office, 1981), 850.

1916/1917<sup>58</sup>. Thanks to their prosperity, property owners invited famous artisans to design their facades. These new facades incorporated the skills of Japanese architects in the Baroque Style, as well as some Chinese motifs. This was called the Taishō Baroque Style, which remains today. The store names and surnames of the owners were carved on the facades of the shophouses. Many of the buildings involved with the indigo industry included the word “dyeing” on their facades. These facades were made of red bricks and the decorations with stucco wash finishes<sup>59</sup>. The traditional Chinese decorations and gable reliefs included special lucky meanings with vases, bats, and flowers<sup>60</sup>.

While the Sanhsia urban improvement project was underway, events associated with World War I made a difference in the need for coal. The local coal business expansion led Sanhsia to create a new rail system from Sanchiaoyung to Chenfu, with the Chenfu Small Railroad Company in 1916. Products from south of Sanchiaoyung and south-east of Tahsi were delivered by Taoyuan Small Railroad Company. However, the Mitsui Coal Company and other coal mine owners were dissatisfied with the decision by the Taoyuan Company. They set up another small railroad route from the Mitsui Company tea factory in Shuiliutung to Hwatsaolin, Wuliao, and connected this to the small railroad to Sanchiaoyung in 1918. Therefore, some tea, timber, camphor, coals, and mountain products were delivered by this small railroad from Sanhsia. Small railroad also accelerated businesses development in Sanchiaoyung when so many small railroad systems were set up. Small railroad were

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<sup>58</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, “The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in the 1920's” (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 33.

<sup>59</sup> National Taipei University, “*The Record of Sanhsia Town History*,” National Taipei University, [http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c\\_1/c\\_1\\_013.html](http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c_1/c_1_013.html).

<sup>60</sup> Chao-Yuan Huang, *The Traditional Street in Taiwan* (Taipei: Hsintien: Yuantsu Culture, 2002). 22-23, 44-45.

available on almost every route. The construction of these light rail systems was completed around 1922<sup>61</sup>.

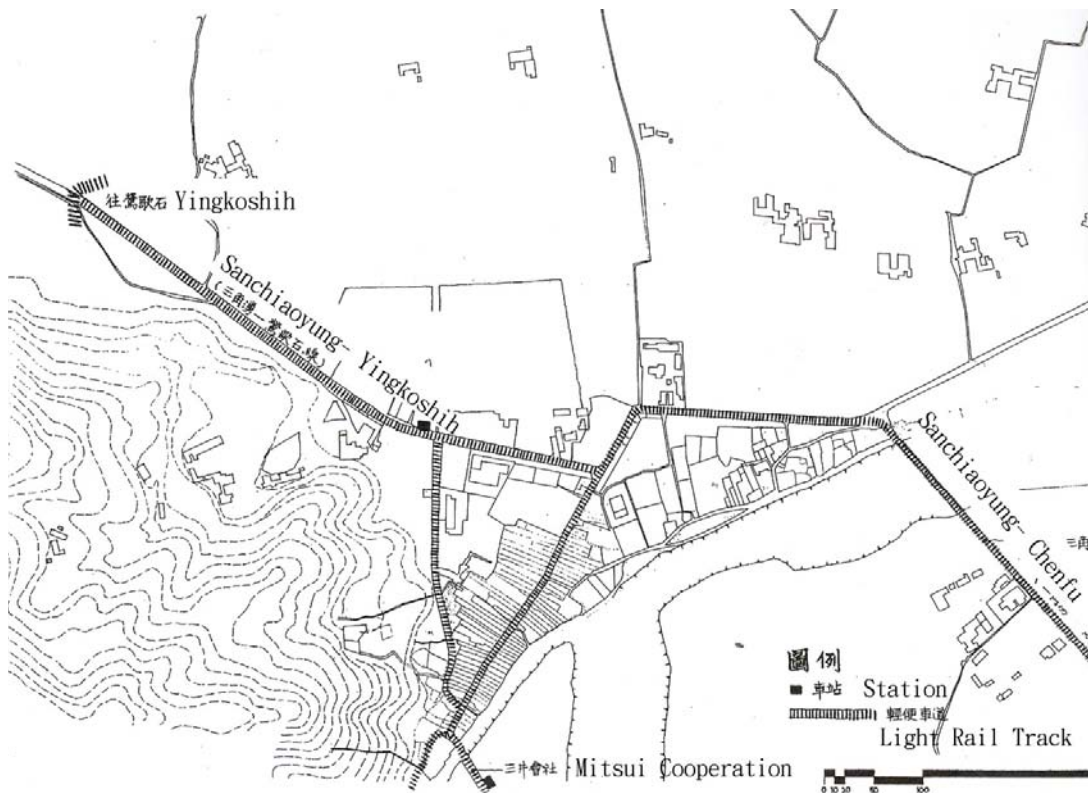


Figure 1.7 Light Rail Routes in Sanhsia

Source: Chih-Hung Wang, “The Settlement Development of San-hsia before 1945” (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 77.

### *The Decay of the Streets in Sanhsia*

Mountainous resources caused the streets of Sanhsia to thrive. However, deforestation of the land for extracting camphor and growing tea trees caused severe mudflows and landslides after typhoons. In 1912, three typhoons changed the route of

<sup>61</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, “Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945” (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 77,78. Hui-Cheng Lin, *The Survey and Research of the Facades of Taoyuan Tahsi, Taipei County Sanhsia, Hsinchu Hukou Traditional Street* (Taipei City: Council of Cultural Affairs, 1989), 154.

the Sanhsia River and caused the loss of part of Kungkuanwei Street and 33 houses. Mud and sand from upstream gradually silted up the Sanhsia River.

Until the completion of the Taoyuan Main Canal in 1925, the flow of the Tahan River declined rapidly. Therefore, river transportation in Sanhsia began to decline. More goods were carried by the railroad, and the road between Panchiao to Tucheng and Sanhsia was designated a county road and broadened to 10 meters in 1924. This improvement occurred because the new Haishan Prefecture Office was situated at Panchiao when the local administration was redistributed in 1920<sup>62</sup>. After the Sanhsia Bridge was completed, connecting Taipei, Panchiao and Sanhsia, only half as many ships sailed on the Tahan River as did during mid Japanese Colonial Period. The products of the mountainous area came to be delivered by land transportation. After 1941, only ferries and ships for acquiring river sands navigated the river<sup>63</sup>.

Business on the commercial streets in Sanhsia gradually declined at the end of the Japanese Colonial Period because river transportation was replaced by land transportation. The new primary transportation arteries were built in the western flat area, far from Sanhsia<sup>64</sup>. As the Western Line Railway, which was constructed during the late Japanese Colonial Period, passed Yingko, goods from Sanhsia needed to be transported by road or rails to Yingko. Thus, Yingko gradually replaced Sanhsia as the center of Haishan Prefecture<sup>65</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in the 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 33.

<sup>63</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 88.

<sup>64</sup> National Taipei University, "*The Record of Sanshia Town History*," National Taipei University, [http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c\\_1/c\\_1\\_013.html](http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c_1/c_1_013.html).

<sup>65</sup> Liang-Yi Yen, "Political Process of Urban Conservation: An Analysis of Min-Quan Street, Sanhsia" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1993), 16.

In addition to that, most mountain-based industries in Sanhsia waned after the 1940s. Camphor production decreased because camphor laurels were exhausted around the mountain area and artificial camphor became popular after World War II<sup>66</sup>.

The tea business also declined at the end of the Japanese Colonial Period. The Great Depression decreased the demand for tea. In addition, over-production of tea in other parts of the region lowered the tea price in 1933. Therefore, the number of tea growers in Sanhsia declined to about 1,200 households after 1937. Before 1933, tea farmers made coarse tea by hand. However, more and more, tea was made using machinery. Tea growing became a separate occupation from tea making<sup>67</sup>. As a result many tea farm workers, who were mostly female, lost their jobs. By 1938, all tea factories, except for Tapao and Taliao, which were operated by Mitsui General Partnership Company, moved to Tataocheng to save costs and adapt to the new techniques. After 1945, all the tea farms belonged to Taiwan Tea Corporation, all but completely closing out small tea makers.

Although many industries in Sanhsia came to an end after 1945, the coal industry grew and gradually reached its peak around the end of the 1940s. There were about 3,000 miners in and around the 1960s. In 1973, there were about ten mine pits, including Chengfu, Haishan First, Haishan Second, Sanhsia, Chinmin, Haishan Third, Yungta, and Chungyi.

Most miners commuted between the mine pits and their residences on a daily basis. However, the quality of coal in Sanhsia did not provide enough money to continue mining. After Taipower decided to use petroleum instead of coal to make electricity and the electric railroad became the preferred means of providing the

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<sup>66</sup> National Taipei University, "*The Record of Sanhsia Town History*," National Taipei University, [http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c\\_1/c\\_1\\_013.html](http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c_1/c_1_013.html).

<sup>67</sup> Chih-Hung Wang, "Settlement and Development of San-hsia before 1945" (MA thesis, Chung-Yuan University, 1989), 85.

railroad with power, demand for coal decreased dramatically. In addition, the collapse of the Haishan First mine pit, which caused 92 people's deaths in 1984, forced the government to rethink its coal extraction policy. There were only four mine pits left in Sanhsia by 1991, and the last mine pit in Taiwan, the Lifeng Coal Company was shut down in 2000<sup>68</sup>.

Sanhsia continued to change. The most prosperous commercial part shifted from Sanchiaoyung Street to Kungkuanwei because the Japanese set up public buildings, administrative buildings, and markets there. Sanchiaoyung Street became merely a retail street. Taiwanese village people from other locations were attracted to urban areas when commerce and industry developed rapidly in the 1970s. The construction of National Highway No. 1 in Taiwan (1974) and electrification of the Western Line Railway (1979) accelerated the concentration of population in urban area. Most young workers left Sanhsia for even larger cities and moved to Panchiao City, Chunggho City, Tucheng City, Taoyuan City and Chungli City.

Streets in the historic district of Sanhsia gradually became shabby and vacant. Only a few aged inhabitants occupied the old shophouses. Some shophouses were rebuilt, however, most were left unused. The unused shophouses deteriorated quickly. Many had leaking roofs that caused the beams to deteriorate. Some collapsed, presenting a sad picture, and leading more inhabitants to move out.

Because of increasing demand for road transportation, construction began on National Highway No. 3 in 1987. It passed through the east side of National Highway No. 1, and benefited eastern towns such as Sanhsia and Tahsi. With the institution of the paid two-day weekend, increasing numbers of tourists began to appear, bringing potential economic benefits to this waning area. With thriving wave of nostalgia,

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<sup>68</sup> National Taipei University, "*The Record of Sanshia Town History*," National Taipei University, [http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c\\_1/c\\_1\\_013.html](http://szt3d.ntpu.edu.tw/taipei/d/c/c_1/c_1_013.html).

Sanhsia streets and its ancient life style were recalled. As more tourists visited these shabby streets, the possibility for renewal began to be possible.

### ***The Location and Plan of Tahsi***

Tahsi Town is located at the middle of Taoyuan County in northern Taiwan, southwest of Sanhsia Town. The chief body of water is the Tahan River, which is the main branch of the Tanshui River. Tataocheng, Sanhsia and Tashi were three main cities along these rivers but, today, only Tataocheng is still prosperous. As a river town, the development paralleled the water, create a linear plan.



Figure 1.8 Map of Taoyuan County



### ***Origins and Early Settlement of Tahsi***

Tahsi was called Takukan by early immigrants from China because the Atayal Tribes called it “Takahan”, which means “big river”<sup>69</sup>. The first formal record of Tahsi’s old name dates to 1829<sup>70</sup> (Figure 1.8). Tahsi belonged to Takukan Village, Haishan Pao during the late Ching Dynasty. Teng-Fang Li, who was a Chujen<sup>71</sup> or recommended man, presented a petition to change the name of Tahsi from “Takukan” to “Takekan”<sup>72</sup> in 1865. When the first governor of the province, Ming-Chuan Liu, set a Fukenchu in Taiwan in 1886, he added “shan” and modified original “Ko”. Takukan Village belonged to Nanya County, Taipei Fu in 1894.

After Taiwan became a colony of Japan and the Japanese Colonial government set up a new administration system, Takukan Village was managed by Haishan Pao, Hsinchu Sub-prefecture, Taipei County. In 1920, the Hsinchu Sub-prefecture was abolished and Takukan Village was administrated by Tahsi Chun, Hsinchu Prefecture, which also managed Lungtan, Fuhsin. The present Tahsi Historic District, the focus of this research, was called Takekan Street<sup>73</sup>.

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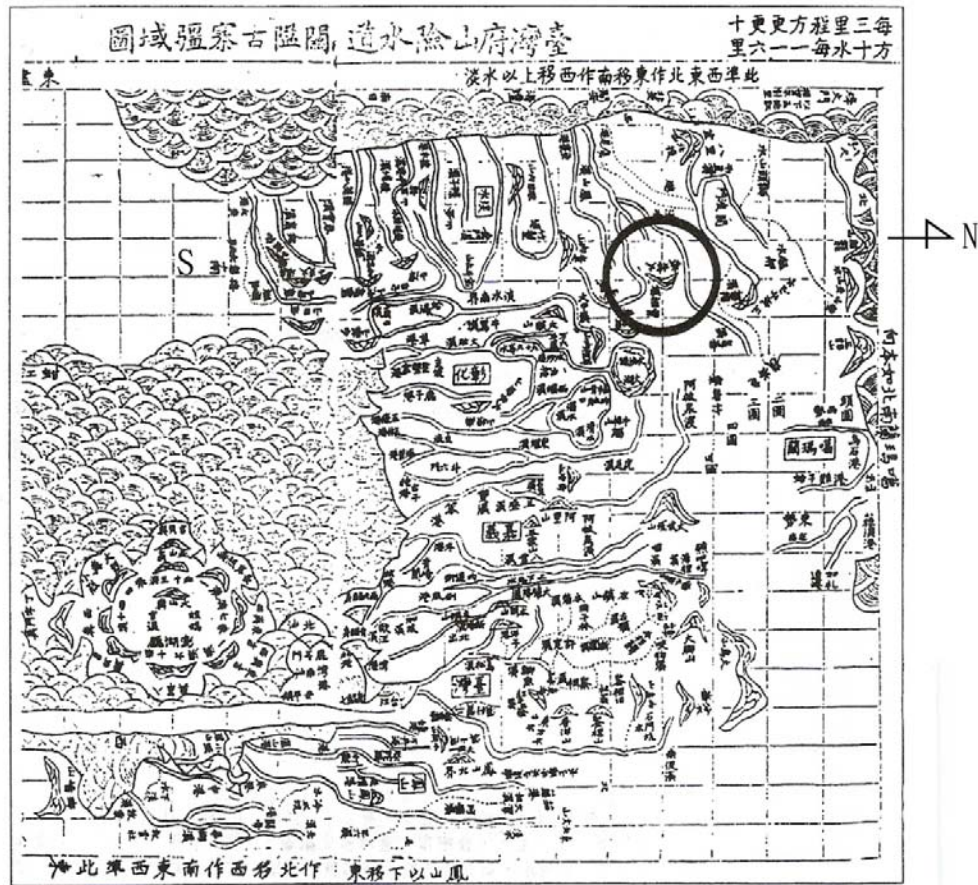
<sup>69</sup> Chi Ai, *The Record of Tahsi Town* (Taoyuan: Taoyuan Township Office, 1981), 4.

<sup>70</sup> “Reedited History of Fuchien”, edited by Chen, Shou-Chi.

<sup>71</sup> Chujen is a denomination for a person who passed the imperial examination at the provincial level every three years.

<sup>72</sup> Ko means a person who passes the imperial examination.

<sup>73</sup> Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 27.



○ Takukan

Figure 1.9 Taiwan Provincial Territory, 1839 (1871)

Source: Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 28.

When the Republic of China assumed administration of Taiwan in 1945, the government redistributed some lines of responsibility. It rescinded the Tahsi Chun and set it as Tahsi District. Takekan Street was modified to Takekan Town. In 1948, the Tahsi District was unincorporated and Takekan Town was temporarily administered by Hsinchu County<sup>74</sup>. Later, four streets — “Taoyuan, Chungli, Yangmei, Tahsi”, which originally belonged to the Tahsi Chun during the Japanese Colonial

<sup>74</sup> Hsinchu County was divided into three new counties: Hsinchu, Taoyuan, and Miaoli in 1951.

Period—became parts of four towns in Taoyuan County, and Takekan Town was renamed Tahsi Town at the same time<sup>75</sup>.

Tahsi was the earliest place where human beings gathered in Taoyuan in prehistory. Before Chinese immigrants moved to Tahsi, it was occupied by the Pingpu and Atayal tribes<sup>76</sup>. Chi-Lang Lai and Hsiu-Chuan Hsieh, who came from Fuchien, first immigrated to Tahsi in 1755, and started to recruit aborigines to cultivate their lands. Later, more immigrants from Fuchien and Kuangtung requested farms from Lai and Hsieh. An immigrant, Kuan-Feng Chu from Kuangtung broke the ground of Shantseng, which is the top river terrace of Tahan River, now designated the Tahsi Historic District. The first settlers of this district were Fan Chiang, who occupied the Up Street (Chungyang Road) area, and Ho-Hai Chen, who occupied the Down Street (Hoping Road) area. However, these streets were not yet completely formed<sup>77</sup>. A group of Changchou people bought land around the Down Street and built Chenshengwang Temple in 1813, which is Fujen Temple today.

Two of the main streets of what would become the Tahsi Historic District, Up Street and Down Street, were formed because one member of the Linpenyuan<sup>78</sup> family escaped from Hsinchuang, Taipei to Tahsi due to the battle between the Changchou people and the Chuanchou people. The family established its mansion, “Tongyiti”, which occupied 4 -hectares between what became Up Street and Down Street. The walls of this property were formed in 1818. The Lin family built

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<sup>75</sup> Chi Ai, *The Record of Tahsi Town* (Taoyuan: Taoyuan Township Office, 1981), 9.

<sup>76</sup> Yu-Hwa Mao, “The Development and Industrial Change in Tahsi” (MA thesis, National Chi-Nan University, 2001), 13.

<sup>77</sup> Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 36.

<sup>78</sup> Linpenyuan is not a person's name, but a generous company name belonged to Lin family. Lin, Ping-Hou's sons- Lin, Kuo-Hwa, and Lin, Kuo- Fang merged their heritage and set up a company called Linpenyuan.

irrigation systems, paved roads in the hills, and set up temples in Tahsi before moving to Panchiao. However, the Lin family kept their business in Tahsi<sup>79</sup>.

The Chenchichen Company took over the Lin property and it was occupied by Tsung-Ying Chu, son of Kuan-Feng Chu, in 1830, Hsin-Hsin Huang, Yung-Cheng Chin, Ting-Chi Pan, Yuan-Chi Lin, and Yung-Ching Pan developed the mountain area near Tahsi around the 1860s<sup>80</sup>.

### ***Development of Tahsi Streets and the Local Industries***

More immigrants were attracted and set up camphor and tea businesses in Tahsi around 1860s. At that time, the production of camphor in Tahsi was 7,000 picul<sup>81</sup>/ year. By 1870, it increased to 14, 000 picul/year<sup>82</sup>.

An increasing number of households and stores were constructed, filling-in Up Street and Down Street around 1846. The Tahsi streets were prosperous. Hundreds of cottages were built around Tsaotienwei, and Houwei Street, today's rear part of Hoping Street<sup>83</sup>. Down Street kept extending its outskirts, and created New Street. Hsinnan Street, today's Chungshan Road, was formed around 1891<sup>84</sup> (see figure 1.9).

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<sup>79</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in the 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 22. Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 41.

<sup>80</sup> Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 36, 37.

<sup>81</sup> 1 picul is equal to 50 kilograms.

<sup>82</sup> Hsinchu Prefecture Record.

<sup>83</sup> Yu-Hwa Mao, "The Development and Industrial Change in Tahsi" (MA thesis, National Chi-Nan University, 2001), 16.

<sup>84</sup> Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 36.

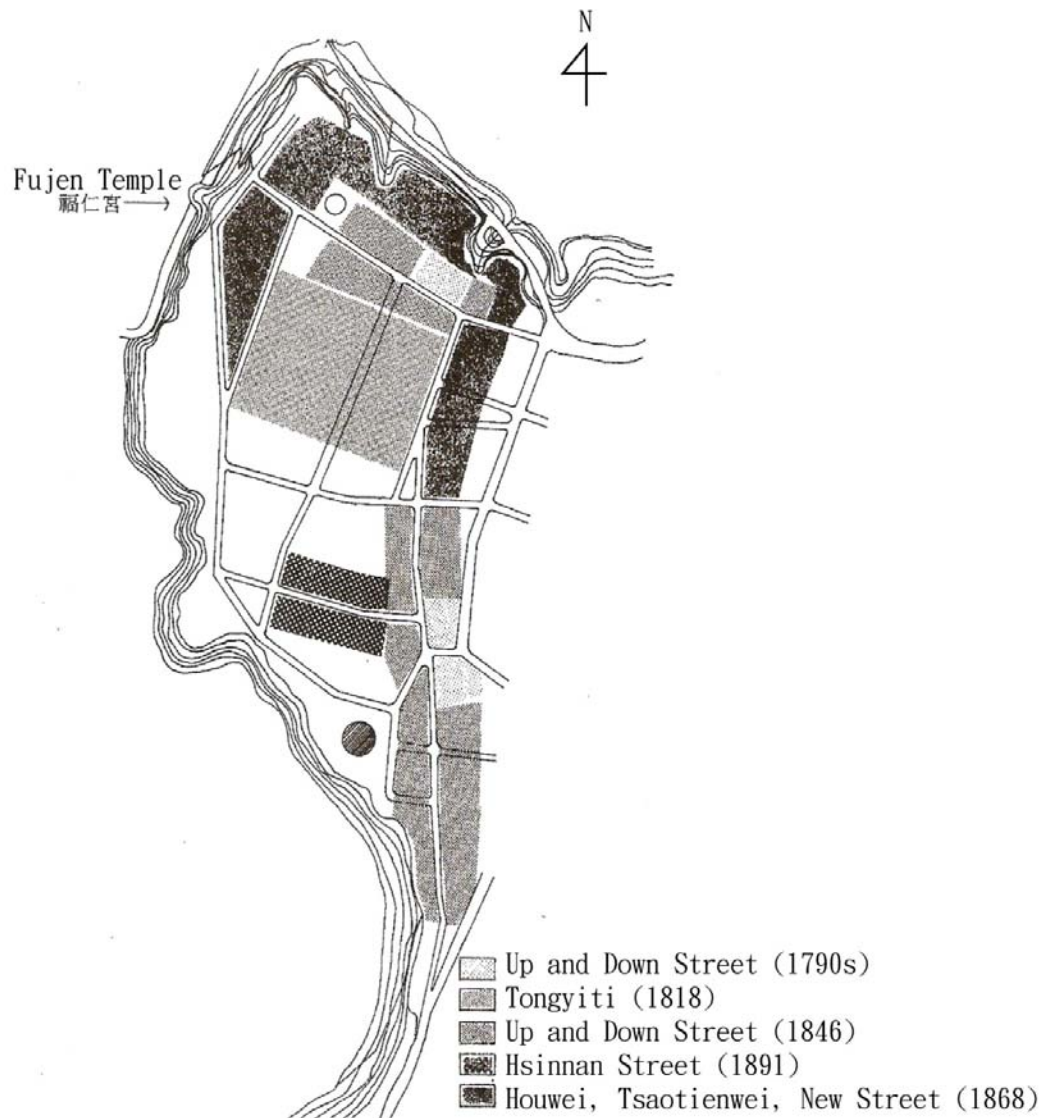


Figure 1.10 Development Order of Tahsi Historic District

Source: Hui-Cheng Lin, *The Survey and Research of the Facades of Taoyuan Tahsi, Taipei County Sanhsia, Hsinchu Hukou Traditional Street* (Taipei City: Council of Cultural Affairs, 1989), 33.

Like the shophouses on Sanhsia Traditional Street, those on Tahsi Traditional Street were made of bricks with thatched or tiled roofs. The layouts of the shophouses were similar to those in Sanhsia as well (Figure 1.11).

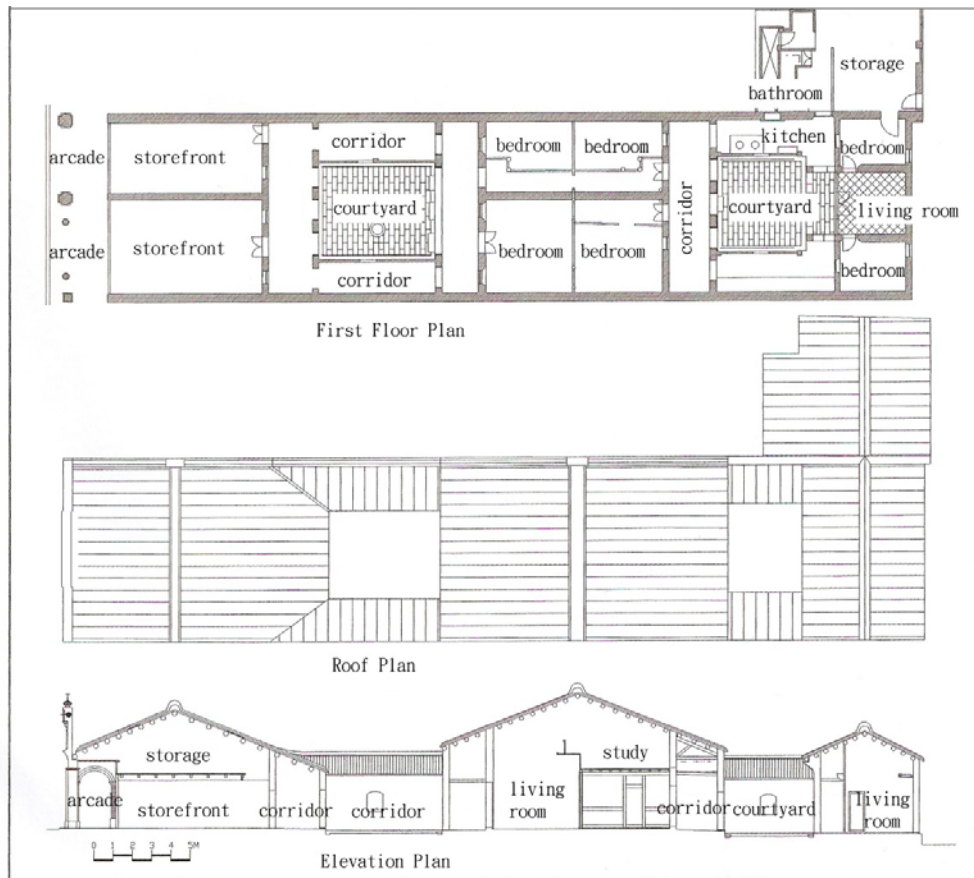


Figure 1.11 Plan of No. 84, 84-1 Hopping Road

Source: Institute of Historical Resources Management, Taiwan, "The final report of the Preservation of the Historic Buildings and Space", 2009: 117.

In 1886, after the Sino-French War, Taiwan became a province of China. The first governor of Taiwan Province, Ming-Chuan Liu, created a Fukenchu. The headquarters of the Fukenchu was in Tahsi. Fanshihchu, an administration which dealt with the businesses between aborigines and Han immigrants, was set up in Tahsi in 1891. More than seventy shophouses were built southeast of Up Street on a new road called Shinnan Street<sup>85</sup>. Tahsi became the wholesales and productive hub of the

<sup>85</sup> Chi Ai, *The Record of Tahsi Town* (Taoyuan: Taoyuan Township Office, 1981), 7.

roots of the mountain area in north Taiwan, and attracted three to four hundred foreign companies.

Tahsi was an important early location for the production and export of rice. After Tanshui became an international port in 1860, Tahsi became a collection center for camphor and tea for the upper Tanshui River. The production of tea in Tahsi increased six times from 1860 to 1885. Those products were delivered from Tahsi to Taipei by boat by way of the Tahan River. Ships set off from Tahsi at 9 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Taipei at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. However, these ships spent three days returning to Tahsi to collect foods and other necessities<sup>86</sup>.

The Ching Dynasty was defeated by Japan and ceded Taiwan in 1895. The united army which gathered in Tahsi and Sanhsia resisted the occupation by attacking Japanese troops, causing numerous injuries and deaths. After the Japanese conquered Sanhsia, they set cannons on the Yintou Mountain and set fire to the streets of Tahsi, and Tongyiti. Parts of Tahsi were seriously destroyed<sup>87</sup>.

As Taiwan was stabilized under the Japanese government, Japanese merchants began to develop the resources of the mountainous area of Tahsi. Out of a number of resources, camphor was the most valuable. The Tatong Corporation, Tahsi Corporation, Hsiaosung Corporation, and Wuliao Corporation were the most famous Japanese camphor companies in Taiwan. The productivity of camphor was 55,836 Chin in 1899. The export of camphor and import of necessities made Tahsi again a thriving hub<sup>88</sup>.

Coal mining in Tahsi was approved by the Japanese government in 1901. Several mines were developed such as Taiyang, Tahsi, Chienchi, Yungfa, Shanmei,

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<sup>86</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 23.

<sup>87</sup> Yu-Hwa Mao, *The Development and Industrial Change in Tahsi* (MA thesis, National Chi-Nan University, 2001), 18.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. 19.

Sanshan, Hsichou, and Chaojih<sup>89</sup>. Sugar cane was planted and sugar businesses were established in Tahsi, as well. The famous industries are Tahsin, Chiyeh, Sanho. By comparison, the tea business was in decline during this period. The export of tea in Tahsi sharply decreased, and tea prices did not begin to increase again until 1933. Production of tea was at 579,598 Chin in 1940.

### ***The Golden Age of Tahsi***

According to statistics for 1898, the population in Tahsi was 4,244<sup>90</sup>. As the prosperity increased, the population increased. For example, in 1912, the community contained 1,305 households and a population of 5,365. In 1906, Tahsi had six streets: New Street, Hsinnan Street, Houwei Street, Up Street, Down Street, and Tsaotienwei<sup>91</sup>.

Water transportation was essential, as 200 to 300 shops passed through on the Tahan River everyday. The streets were prosperous because the boatmen and porters needed to socialize, have fun, eat, and buy goods after work.

Other basic manufacturing provided products and services. They included as oil pressing factories, blacksmith shops, and rice husking factories, and food with restaurants, as well as professionals like fortune tellers, plasterers, masons, carpenters, barbers, teachers, and even prostitutes<sup>92</sup>.

Because the streets were so congested, the Governor of Taoyuan Prefecture considered that the shophouses on the Tahsi streets were too narrow and dirty. They often lacked sewer systems. Therefore, Tahsi first practiced urban planning<sup>93</sup> in

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<sup>89</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in the 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 25.

<sup>90</sup> Yu-Hwa Mao, "The Development and Industrial Change in Tahsi" (MA thesis, National Chi-Nan University, 2001), 19.

<sup>91</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in the 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 26.

<sup>92</sup> Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 61.

<sup>93</sup> Tahsi Urban Planning is based on "The Regulation of Taiwan Buildings" which was proclaimed in 1900 by the Japanese government (Source: Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House:



191294, which included the area encompassing New Street, Hsinnan Street, Houwei Street, Up Street, Down Street, and Tsaotienwei Street.

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Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in the 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 26.)

<sup>94</sup> Yu-Hwa Mao, "The Development and Industrial Change in Tahsi" (MA thesis, National Chi-Nan University, 2001), 26. Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 45.

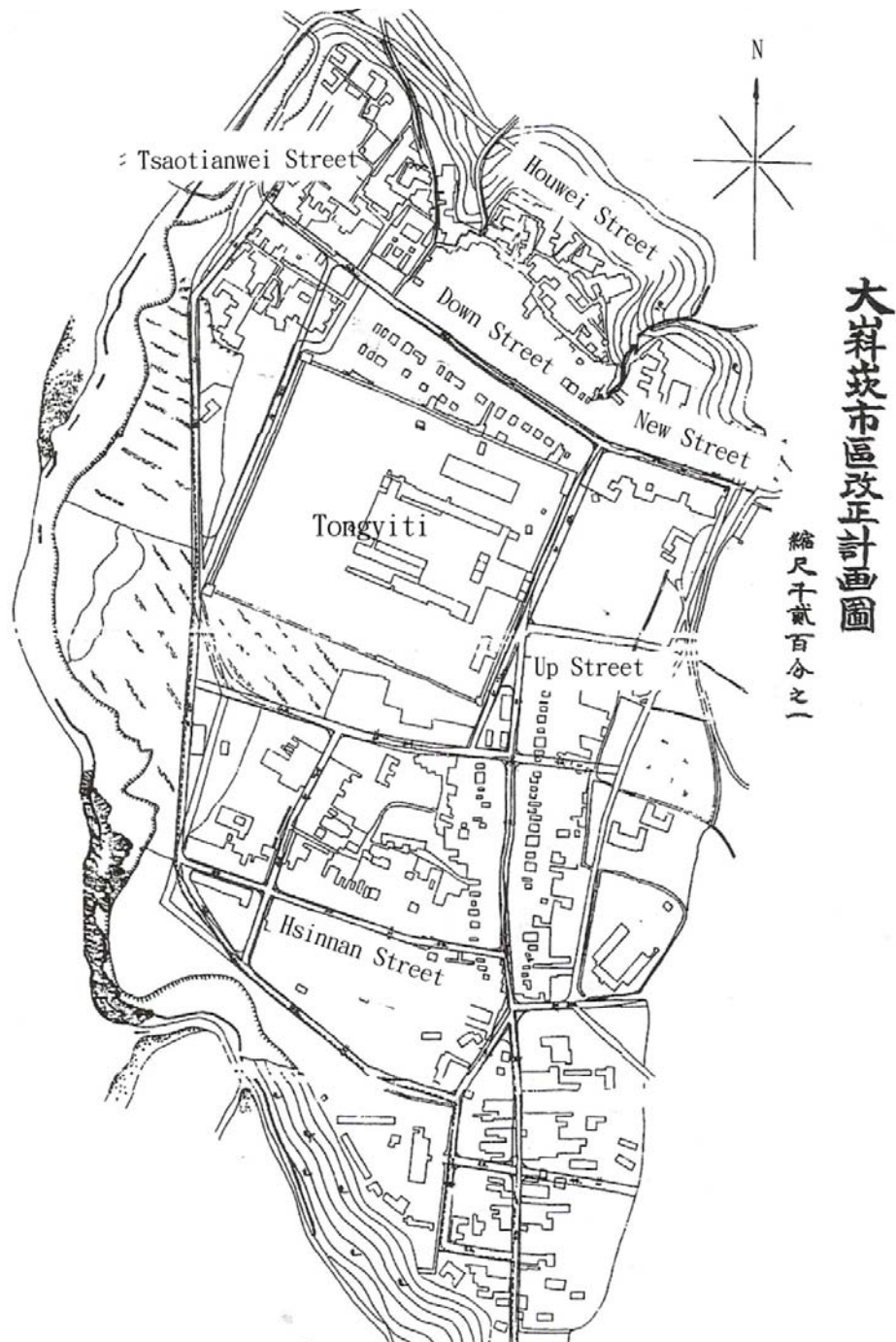


Figure 1.12 Tahsi Urban Planning Project (1912)

Source: Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 50.

The content of the project redefined the region, redesigning roads, and building sewer systems. The project broadened the original narrow, curved streets to 5 meters wide, tore down parts of the shophouses, and modified the streets to look as they are today<sup>95</sup>.

Some improvements were made. For example, the Lin family donated their Tongyiti property to establish a public school and a gymnasium. The land was cut through by a new road, now known as Tenglung Road. The western part was designed for the school and the eastern part became a public gymnasium. The walls of Tongyiti were modified as bleachers. The remaining elements were demolished after the Second World War, though the precise date is unknown<sup>96</sup>.

The project also assigned lands to be used for government buildings, schools, sewer systems, cemeteries and parks. When streets were broadened, all shophouse facades that were inconsistent with the street lines were demolished. Facades on those streets were redesigned and rebuilt from 1919 to 1920.

This was the golden age of Tahsi. Property owners invited famous crafts masters to redesign shophouse facades, which were covered in stucco wash finishes. These were produced by mixing stone and plaster to imitate the texture of stone. This was different from the material used for arcades in Sanchiaoyung shophouses, which was mainly red brick. These decorations created a new style called the “Tahsi Form” by combining traditional Taiwanese characters and patterns, elements of Baroque Style, and Japanese patterns<sup>97</sup>.

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<sup>95</sup> Yu-Hwa Mao, “The Development and Industrial Change in Tahsi” (MA thesis, National Chi-Nan University, 2001), 20.

<sup>96</sup> Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 41.

<sup>97</sup> Yu-Hwa Mao, “The Development and Industrial Change in Tahsi” (MA thesis, National Chi-Nan University, 2001), 20.

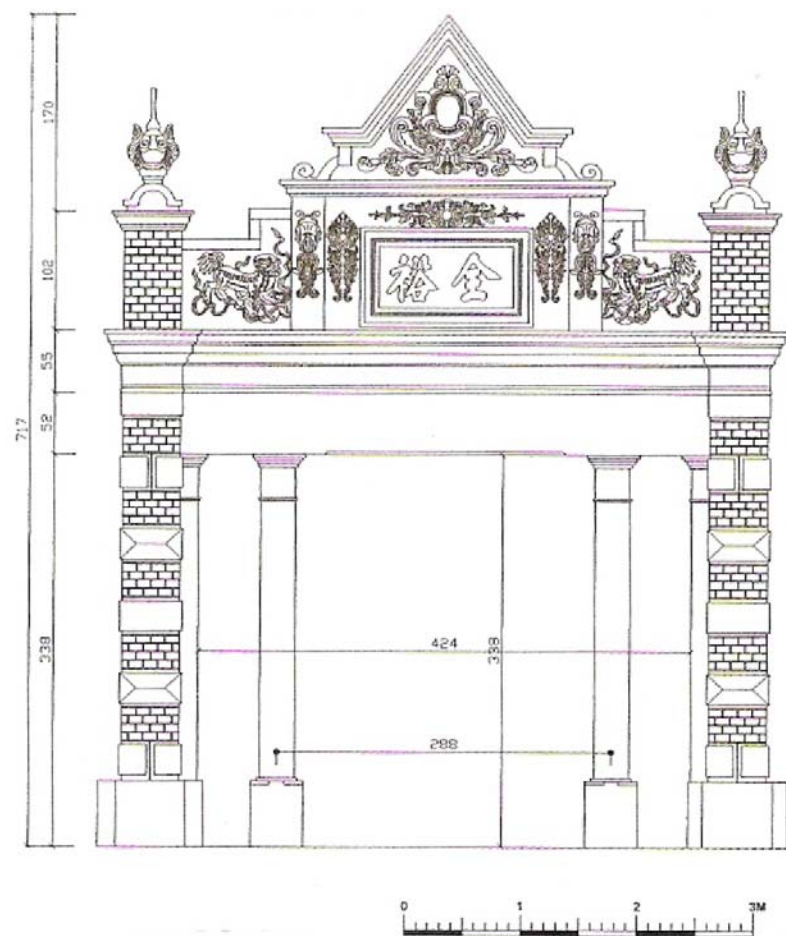


Figure 1.13 Elevation Plan of No. 83 on Hoping Road  
 Source: Institute of Historical Resources Management, Taiwan, "The final report of the Preservation of the Historic Buildings and Space", 2009: 117.

### *The Decay of the Streets in Tahsi*

Tahsi was prosperous due to its superior position in river transportation. Railroad transportation from Taipei to Hsinchu began in 1891, however, it did not make much of a difference until 1903. It that year the Taokan Small Railroad Company was established. It was later renamed the Taoyuan Small Railroad Company. The founders of this company—Chien-Pang Lu and Yu-Tieh Chao from Tahsi and Lang-Shan Chien and Ying-Yang Lu from Taotzuyuan—constructed a

small railroad system from Taotzuyuan to Tahsi. It was 14.8 kilometers in length. The company also established the 22.7-kilometer-length small railroad system from Tahsi to Chiaopan Mountain<sup>98</sup>.

Meanwhile, to improve agricultural development in northern Taiwan, in 1916 the Japanese colonial government established the Taoyuan Main Canal, which re-directed part of the Tahan River's water to irrigate farm lands in Taoyuan. Unfortunately, the canal reduced the flow of the Tahan River, so that ships could not sail upstream to Tashi as before.

When Tashi lost its central position in river transportation, small railroad became the main transportation connecting the city to the outside world. The Mitsui Coal Company and other coal mine firms were dissatisfied because they encountered unannounced increases in transportation charges and tolls by the Taoyuan Small Railroad Company. To counter this problem, they created another small railroad route from the tea factory of the Mitsui Company in Shuiliuton to Hwatsaolin, Wuliao, and connected it to the small railroad system in Sanchiaoyung in 1918. Therefore, a portion of the tea, timber, camphor, coals, and mountain products were exported by small railroad from Sanhsia<sup>99</sup>. In addition, a second new road was constructed in 1925 from Kueishan to Taoyuan, Chungli, and Hukou. It did not go through Tahsi. It did not go through Tashi.

After about 1920, the camphor industry in Tahsi approached its end because camphor laurels were no longer plentiful near the mountains. Camphor workers lost their jobs and sought other employment outside Tahsi. Some of the former camphor workers were brought to Chinkuashih, Keelung by A-Niu Chien and became miners. A-Niu Chien established coal businesses in both Tahsi and Chinkuashih. Those

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid. 21,22.

<sup>99</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in the 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 33.

miners also set up the first organization, the Tongjen Association in Tahsi, and later set up the Puchi Temple.

The first coal mine in Tahsi was approved in 1901, solving some of the town's unemployment problems. However it was difficult to transport coal without sufficient river water. In addition, part of the small railroad path from Litzuyuan to Chiting was so steep that it was not easy to carry the coal that way, either.

Whenever the number of consumers purchasing goods from stores in Tahsi decreased, sales people and clerks and shopkeepers became unemployed or had to find work in other businesses<sup>100</sup>.

Shifting transportation routes caused businesses of Tahsi to decline seriously. After the First World War, famous land owners in Tahsi such as the Chiang and the Huang families sold their lands. The Tahsi tycoon A-Niu Chien died unexpectedly in Keelung<sup>101</sup>.

Most inhabitants of the Tahsi streets engaged in manufacturing industries and service industries. Businesses in Hsinchu Prefecture in 1930 often related to agriculture, such as removing the husks of rice, making Chinese medicine, and cooking Chinese desserts. Tahsi also had construction and architecture offices. Retail stores provided groceries, rice, fruits, salt, fish, tofu, wine, Chinese medicine, manure, opium, meat, desserts, kimonos, woodcrafts, and coffins.

Up to that point, businesses could still be recognized in the facades of shophouses along the streets. Most businesses were located on Up Street, Down Street, and New Street, particularly Up Street. After the river transportation declined, the center of business moved from Down Street, which was closer to the wharf, to Up

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<sup>100</sup> Yu-Hwa Mao, "The Development and Industrial Change in Tahsi" (MA thesis, National Chi-Nan University, 2001), 112.

<sup>101</sup> Hsin-Yi Ho, "The Facade of Town House: Tahsi, Sanhsia, Tataocheng in the 1920's" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994), 26.

Street. The old center disappeared and its functions moved to a town center with increased administration<sup>102</sup>.

By the time that Taiwan came to be governed by the Republic of China in 1945, Tahsi was far from main transportation arteries. The area around the Tahsi historical streets did not change much, though cantonments and residential military communities were built at the western edge of Tahsi Town and brought some economic benefits.

When President Kai-Shek Chiang died in 1975, he was buried in the Tzuhu Presidential Burial Place, which was one of his private villas, in Tahsi Town. The main transportation route, Kaishek Road (original Taota Road), was broadened, and the Tzuhu Presidential Burial Place attracted a lot of tourists.

The completion of Chungshan Freeway (National Freeway No. 1) in Taiwan in 1974 and electrification of the Western Line Railway in 1979 increased the development of west Tahsi Town. The Putting Industrial District was established shortly thereafter. When Provincial Highway No. 4 was constructed, many factories were also built along it. In a matter of months the population and development of west Tahsi Town exceeded that of east Tahsi Town. More than three-quarters of the population lived in east Tahsi Town at the end of Japanese Colonial Period, around 1945. Tahsi historic streets included 17% of the town's population according to the "Present Residence Population Report" edited by the Governor-General of Taiwan.

The traditional industries of Tahsi were declining or already closed. The camphor industry came to an ended after 1960. As for the tea industry, when factories bloomed in west Tahsi Town, many farmers gave up raising tea and became factory workers. During the Japanese Colonial Period, tea farmers rented their farms to the

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<sup>102</sup> Yi-Hung Lin et al., *The Village and Architectures of Tahsi Streets, Taoyuan* (Taoyuan County: Taoyuan Cultural Center, 1999), 62.

Mitsui Company. After 1945, those farms became the property of the Taiwan Tea Cooperation, which continued producing tea until 1995.

Because of the increasing demand for road transportation, construction began on the Formosa Freeway (National Freeway No. 3) in 1987. The plans indicated that it would pass through the east side of National Highway No. 1 for two reasons: to decrease the cost of acquiring private land and to balance the uneven development of east and west. This greatly improved the convenience of transportation in Tahsi, reducing the time between Tahsi and Taipei to only 30 to 40 minutes<sup>103</sup>.

Similar to Sanhsia, the east part of Tahsi Town was famous for beautiful scenery because of its proximity to the mountains. Therefore, it attracts tourists and becomes prosperous again.

### ***Conclusion***

The traditional streets in Sanhsia and Tahsi have the same background. As centers that were once prosperous, they boomed and then became shabby. The resources from mountainous areas were collected on the streets in Sanhsia and Tahsi and delivered to the cities and towns in the flatlands because of the convenient transportation of the Tanshui River. With the accumulation of the wealth on the streets reaching its peak at the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the gorgeous shophouses, with their combinations of Chinese and Japanese architecture styles were built along the streets. However, when river transportation was replaced with land transportation in the 1940s, these streets lost their economic positions and gradually decayed. Inhabitants moved out and sought job opportunities in new cities. Until the establishment of the Formosa Freeway (National Freeway No. 3) and the trend toward nostalgic travel reminded people the existence of these historic districts

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<sup>103</sup> Yu- Hwa Mao, "The Development and Industrial Change in Tahsi" (MA thesis, National Chi-Nan University, 2001), 30.



and brought in tourists, it was difficult to see that these communities had a secure future. These traditional streets started to be noticed and were gradually changed. However, the convenience of accessibility and interest of tourists created a contradiction between development and preservation. In the next chapter, the discussion turns to the different preservation movements and restoration processes for traditional streets in Sanhsia and Tahsi.

## CHAPTER TWO

### PRESERVATION MOVEMENTS AND RESTORATION PROCESSES

#### ***Introduction***

With increasing public interest in and the developmental pressure for the traditional streets in Sanhsia and Tahsi, their destinies differed. In Sanhsia, the preservation faction and anti-preservation faction were in deadlock for more than ten years. Amidst a complicated political process and in opposition to some inhabitants, community-based organizations raised a grass roots consciousness. After considerable effort, Mingchuan Street became the only traditional street preserved in Sanhsia. Success was declared by the local advocates after the Minister of the council for Cultural Affairs provided 300,000,000 NT dollars to restore the Mingchuan Street shophouses.

In Tahsi, the preservation process was much smoother because it was supported by the Chief of the Tahsi Township Office. After the designation of the Tahsi Traditional Streets, a community development project was initiated, called the Beautification of Historic Village and the Development of Community Project in Tahsi Taoyuan. The Tsaotienwei Workshop was established, and many community activities were held to remind inhabitants of the beauty of their shophouses, and to reinforce the community's self-consciousness.

In this chapter, preservation movements and restoration processes in traditional streets in Sanhsia and in Tahsi are viewed, focusing primarily on actors and their influences.

#### ***The Preservation Movement in Sanhsia***

Mingchuan Street was the first traditional street to be designated as a historic monument of the 'street type' in Taiwan in 1991. However, because of a lack of



and Chungshan Road. This improvement did not take place immediately, however, because the government lacked funding<sup>104</sup>.

In 1989, the Sanhsia Interchange on the Formosa Freeway (National Freeway No. 3) was completed, and Taipei University chose Sanhsia as future campus site. Real estate in Sanhsia suddenly boomed and pressure to develop shophouses increased, threatening Sanhsia's traditional streets. The Sanhsia Township Office prepared a budget to confiscate property for new shophouses on Mingchuan Street and Chungshan Road<sup>105</sup>. In response, inhabitants of Mingchuan Street and Chungshan Road submitted a petition asking the Sanhsia Township Office to preserve shophouses. They contacted the Yaoshan Association as well as interested scholars, and tried to find more support. The Yaoshan Association also began to sponsor public education and promotion activities. The first Sanhsia street tour was held on June 11, 1989<sup>106</sup>.

Bowing to public pressure, the Taipei County Government decided to postpone its plan to broaden the streets, but the Township Office thought that the postponement order only referred to Mingchuan Street. Therefore, the shophouses on Chungshan Road were demolished in September, 1989. This surprised the preservation groups and also increased pressure on the Taipei County Government, which was forced to suspend the demolition of shophouses for two years, in October, 1990. After the completion of a study conducted by the Department of Architecture at Tamkang University, a modification to the road plan was made and, after the joint site investigation of officers of the Ministry of Interior, Mingchuan Street was designated a level three monument on October 16, 1991<sup>107</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup> Liang-Yi Yen, "Political Process of Urban Conservation: An Analysis of Min-Quan Street, Sanhsia" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1993), 20.

<sup>105</sup> Chih-Wei Chien, "Feasibility Study of Private participation of Historic Buildings Conservation-the Case of Sanhsia Min-Chuan Old Street" (MA thesis, National Chiao-Tung University, 2005), 42.

<sup>106</sup> Liang-Yi Yen, "Political Process of Urban Conservation: An Analysis of Min-Quan Street, Sanhsia" (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1993), 23.

<sup>107</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, "Reappearance of the Glorious New Sanchiaoyung Street: the Pactice of Cultural

The designation caused an unforeseen reaction. After the Ministry of Interior announced the “Sanhsia Traditional Street Preservation Detail Plan and the Modification of the Master Plan,” some inhabitants protested. In November, 1991, the head of the neighborhood, Chin-Wen Su, submitted a petition, which was signed by 138 households on Mingchuan Street, requesting that the government rescind the designation of Mingchuan Street because the shophouses were very shabby and dangerous<sup>108</sup>. Ming-Li Wang stated that inhabitants had already received compensation and agreed that Mingchuan Street was to be widened, and intended to rebuild their shophouses as apartments. Professionals with wide variety of opinions were enlisted. In an emergency meeting convened by the Ministry of Interior, some professionals supported the designation, arguing that Sanhsia Traditional Street was the only traditional street left in Sanhsia Town. Others thought that the government should respect the opinions of inhabitants, and pointed to the fact that the Taipei County Government had already announced the Sanhsia Urban Plan years ago. The Taipei County Government decided to keep the designation and tried to convince inhabitants to accept the preservation plan, asking the former planning group at the Department of Architecture, Tamkang University, led by Professor Fu-Kuo Mi, to undertake this difficult job<sup>109</sup>.

To protest in a more organized way, some residents created a new organization, called the “Rescue Committee” in February, 1992 to protest the designation. One of the representatives of Sanhsia Township Office was elected as the leader of the Committee<sup>110</sup>.

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Preservation in the Sanhsia Traditional Street,” *Taipei County Culture SEP* (2007): 19.

<sup>108</sup> Liang-Yi Yen, “Political Process of Urban Conservation: An Analysis of Min-Quan Street, Sanhsia” (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1993), 27.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 27, 28.

<sup>110</sup> Chih-Wei Chien, “Feasibility Study of Private participation of Historic Buildings Conservation-the Case of Sanhsia Min-Chuan Old Street” (MA thesis, National Chiao-Tung University, 2005), 42.

The Rescue Committee requested that the Ministry of Interior to hold a negotiation meeting that include the representatives of the Rescue Committee, legislators, and officers of the Ministry of Interior. One of the Legislators, Sheng-Liang Liu, proposed an eclectic project which called for broadening the Mingchuan Road and then rebuilding the original facades. Representatives of the committee supported only this project, and refused any other possible suggestions for preservation. Therefore, there was no acceptable compromise. The Ministry of the Interior promised that it would give representatives of the Rescue Committee a reply before March 15, 1992, but did not fulfill its promise.

Meanwhile, the preservation plan was adopted by the Taipei County Urban Planning Commission and the Taiwan Province Urban Planning Commission. During the review process, the Rescue Committee continued to object to the preservation plan and asked the Monument Evaluation Commission, an agency of the Ministry of Interior, to dissolve the designation of the shophouses, which, unexpectedly, it decided to do on September 7, 1993. This dissolution represented a disagreement between the urban development bureau and preservation advocates. The inhabitants had no confidence in the government thereafter<sup>111</sup>.

Regardless of the dissolution of the designation, however, some inhabitants intended to rebuild their shophouses. Because the preservation plan had been passed, however, they were not allowed to maintain, restore or rebuild them. Vacant shophouses began inexplicably catching on fire. When that happened, the head of neighborhood, Chin-Wen Su, who supported the renewal plan, invited journalists and told them that if any inhabitants were wounded or killed as the result of these fires, it would be the government's responsibility, because it prohibited maintenance<sup>112</sup>.

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<sup>111</sup> Lin, Chiung-Jen, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 22 January, 2009, The Aichiaoyi Café, Sanhsia, Taiwan.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

At this time, the magistrate of the Taipei County Government was inclined to preserve Mingchuan Street, but, because some inhabitants strongly opposed the preservation plan, the head of the Taipei County Government said that the future of Mingchuan Street was up to the inhabitants themselves. However, the preservation plan remained in place and the President of the Sanhsia Township Office, Wen-Hsiu Liu, and the head of neighborhood supported the renewal plan. Some residents believed that only a broadened Mingchuan Street would bring prosperity back to the Sanhsia Historic District. The inhabitants also split into two factions. Although most inhabitants did not directly support widening Mingchuan Street, they supported their neighbors<sup>113</sup>. When the two groups of people came to a deadlock, an important organization was formed that would change the future of Mingchuan Street.

### ***Voice of Local Organizations***

The year 1990 was the ninth anniversary of Sanhsia Elementary School, called Sanhsia Public Elementary during the Japanese colonial period. A group of school teachers held a “Sanhsia folklore Exhibition” and through the collection of exhibits, revealed that Sanhsia was full of culture, history and significant architecture. The leader of the group, Chiung-Jen Lin, documented the shophouses with his camera when the historic designation was reversed. He and other elementary school teachers formed the Sanchiaoyung Historical Society on October 25, 1994, and held “the Second National Culture and Art Festival in Sanhsia” in April 1995, which was commissioned by Cultural Center, Taipei County Government. The motif of the festival was “the Inhabitants at the Base of Yuan Mountain: the Centennial of the Resistance to the Japanese in Sanchiaoyung.” Exhibitions of old pictures, documentary films and models of shophouses were made by Sanhsia Elementary

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<sup>113</sup> Liang-Yi Yen, “Political Process of Urban Conservation: An Analysis of Min-Quan Street, Sanhsia” (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1993), 69.

students, and guided tours of Sanhsia Traditional Street were provided<sup>114</sup>. Past and present inhabitants of Mingchuan Street began to care about the history and the beautiful facades of their shabby shophouses. Moreover, even their relatives and friends began to talk about the Sanhsia Traditional Street. The nostalgia and the collective memories of the inhabitants gradually formed a collective public voice that called for the shophouses to be preserved. Not only were the opinions of inhabitants changed, but also the mass media broadcast the idea to people outside Sanhsia. Curious tourists visited Sanhsia Traditional Street, which had been little known before the festival. Through this process, a new self-confidence arose in the inhabitants, some of whom came to consider their shabby shophouses a valued heritage.

Members of the Sanchiaoyung Historical Society were encouraged by the result of the festival. They held another event, “the Centennial Glorification of Sanchiaoyung,” in the summer, which attracted more people who local history and culture. Next, they held “the Temple Fair of Sanchiaoyung” in the beginning of 1995. The Sanhsia Township Office, which was initially reluctant to support these activities, began to take an interest in those activities which attracted people’s notice and interest.

The first Sanhsia Cultural Meeting, also commissioned by the Sanchiaoyung Historical Society, was convened by the Sanhsia Township Office on January 5, 1996. It attracted more than 100 people. The Sanchiaoyung Historical Society continuously sponsored the “Sanhsia Chung Yuan Festival”<sup>115</sup>, an exhibition of religious arts and living.” The Sanchiaoyung Association was set up to serve as a substitute for the Sanchiaoyung Historical Society. The president was a respected elder, Fuben Liu, who was the proxy president of Suao Chun and candidate for the First Taipei County

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<sup>114</sup> Lin, Chiung-Jen, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 22 January, 2009, The Aichiaoyi Café, Sanhsia, Taiwan. Chiung-Jen Lin, “Reappearance of the Glorious New Sanchiaoyung Street: the Pactice of Cultural Preservation in the Sanhsia Traditional Street,” *Taipei County Culture SEP* (2007): 19.

<sup>115</sup> Chung Yuan Festival is the 14<sup>th</sup> night of seventh full moon in a Chinese lunar year, and it’s the date of the opening of the gates of Hell, permitting all ghosts to receive food and drink.



Magistrate Election in 1951. He owned Chinlienchun at No. 53 Mingchuan Street<sup>116</sup>. Chiung-Jen Lin was the Chief Executive of the Sanchiaoyung Association.

Inhabitants who opposed preservation felt that another vote was needed to decide whether the shophouses on the Mingchuan Street should be demolished. Members of the Sanchiaoyung Association intended to hand-in a petition for new legislation. However, a new organization which could represent the inhabitants of Mingchuan Street was needed for this new mission. Therefore, “the Redevelopment Committee of Mingchuan Street in Sanhsia” was organized, with Fu-Pen Liu as president, and Jui-Sui Chen as chief executive, in 1997. Both were inhabitants of Mingchuan Street. The Redevelopment Committee for Mingchuan Street in Sanhsia held a public hearing which called for a preservation and revival plan for the future of Mingchuan Street in new legislation. The legislator, Hui-Liang Chu, intervened and invited the Minister of the Council for Cultural Affairs, Cheng-Chih Lin, the Ministry of the Interior, Taipei County Government, Sanhsia Township Office, and scholars to discuss the development of Mingchuan Street. They concluded that shophouses on Mingchuan Street were not designated as monuments, but as historic buildings, according to the Urban Planning Act. “The Sanhsia Traditional Street Preservation Detail Plan and Modification of the Master Plan” were going to be re-inspected. Some seriously damaged shophouses were maintained, and Mingchuan Street was rudimentarily preserved after the meeting<sup>117</sup>.

Still, some inhabitants could not accept the new preservation plan for Mingchuan Street. The head of the neighborhood, who still opposed preservation, pressured the assemblies of Taipei County to block the budget. Additionally, the

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<sup>116</sup> Ni-Na Chiao, *Sanchiaoyung Folklore* (Taipei County Sanhsia Town: Sanhsia Township Office, 2006), 127.

<sup>117</sup> Chih-Wei Chien, “Feasibility Study of Private participation of Historic Buildings Conservation-the Case of Sanhsia Min-Chuan Old Street” (MA thesis, National Chiao-Tung University, 2005), 43.

president of the Sanhsia Township Office was unwilling to take charge of the construction for restoration. In fact, no politician chose to support either preservation or a broadened road because of the votes. Therefore, the Redevelopment Committee of Mingchuan Street in Sanhsia invited legislator, Hui-Liang Chu and Hsun-Lu Fan, and professor Tzu-Feng Tseng to hold a redevelopment plan orientation for the inhabitants in Mingchuan Street. The Sanchiaoyong Association asked a number of scholars to share their experience in historic preservation during this period<sup>118</sup>.

Also, the Ministry of the Interior invited local representatives, and officers of the Taipei County Government who had observed preservation cases abroad to acquire more support. The conclusion of the meeting, convened by the head of the neighborhood, was that if the façades of the shophouses were kept and the Mingchuan Street was not broadened, the inhabitants would get more compensation, apart from the compensation already awarded for the first section of shophouses and arcades.

In 1997, the Minister of the Council for Cultural Affairs changed the designation of Mingchuan Street as a specific district with a distinct cultural landscape, and included the restoration plan for it in the Major Construction Projects within Six Years. This plan provided three billion six thousand, and seven hundred NT dollars to restore the historic district in 1998<sup>119</sup>. The “Modification of the Sanhsia Master Plan — Corresponding to the Redevelopment Project of Mingchuan Street” was passed by the Taiwan Province Urban Planning Commission in March, 2000. Syu Yu Jian Architects & Associates won the bid for the design of “the Sanchiaoyong Traditional Street Preservation, Rehabilitation, and Road Improvement Plan in Sanhsia Town” from the Minister of Council for Cultural Affairs in 2002. The construction project was awarded by the Fortune Construction Company, Ltd in 2003.

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<sup>118</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, “Reappearance of the Glorious New Sanchiaoyong Street: the Pactice of Cultural Preservation in the Sanhsia Traditional Street,” *Taipei County Culture SEP* (2007): 20.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* 21.

The “Transfer of Development Rights for Monuments Act” was enacted by the Ministry of the Interior in 1998. The Redevelopment Project of Mingchuan Street (Zoning Regulation) adopted the Transfer of Development Rights legislation, so that property owners in the Mingchuan Street could transfer their development rights to the land within the Sanhsia Master Plan and the National Taipei University Special District. The floor area ratio of the shophouses which were preserved did not count in terms of the development rights<sup>120</sup>.

The restoration of Mingchuan Street began on January 14, 2004. At first, however, no property owner was willing to restore his shophouse. Syu Yu Jian Architects & Associates set up a workshop on the street and tried to discuss the prospects for the Sanhsia Traditional Street with property owners and residents. The firm also advised the Sanchiaoyung Association, which provided old pictures, films and oral history. Mostly, however, the Redevelopment Committee of Mingchuan Street in Sanhsia helped the firm to negotiate with owners who were concerned with their property rights. Five property owners (No. 96, 98, 100, 102, 104) were convinced and signed a letter of authorization. After the restoration of these five houses was completed in November, 2004, an increasing number of property owners agreed to the restoration plan. Eventually, all 104 property owners became involved with this plan. The restoration was completed on February 6, 2007.

### ***Preservation Organizations***

The Minister of the Council for Cultural Affairs, the Minister of the Interior, and the Taipei County Government were inclined to preserve the Sanhsia Traditional Street because the inhabitants at first asked for the historic designation. When some inhabitants asked to dissolve the designation, the Ministry of Interior chose to

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<sup>120</sup> Chih-Wei Chien, “Feasibility Study of Private participation of Historic Buildings Conservation-the Case of Sanhsia Min-Chuan Old Street” (MA thesis, National Chiao-Tung University, 2005), 43.

compromise. For a long time, preservation was a top-down process. The administration of monuments was not viewed as a high priority, and often resources were lacking. The Sanchiaoyung Association was the primary force promoting of preservation of Mingchuan Street. It had the grassroots strength to evoke the glory of the Sanhsia Traditional Street, and to transform the collective thoughts of inhabitants.

The promoter of the Sanchiaoyung Historic Society was Chiung-Jen Lin. After he took charge of the Sanhsia Folklore Exhibition for the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Sanhsia Elementary School, he organized six other members (two elementary teachers and four residents) and set up the Sanchiaoyung Historic Society, which initially intended to preserve cultural resources in Sanhsia. Following events organized by the Sanchiaoyung Historic Society, more and more people wanted to join, so the Sanchiaoyung Association was established. Membership increased to about 30. More than half of the members were Sanhsia Elementary School teachers. Teaching is a stable job in Taiwan and teachers have more leisure time, especially during summer and winter vacations. Besides that, teachers usually acquire higher education and care more about traditional culture. Therefore, the initial cultural organization was set up by a group of enthusiastic members, mostly teachers. At first, the association only intended to preserve cultural resources of Sanhsia. When the shophouses faced demolition, however, the association put all its effort into rescuing them.

After the “the Second National Culture and Art Festival in Sanhsia”, the Sanchiaoyung Association held “the Centurial Glorification of Sanchiaoyung”, “the Temple Fair of Sanchiaoyung”, and “the Sanhsia Chung Yuan Festival.” The Association held a large event nearly every three months and a small event each month. The Association also rented a shophouse as an office at the north end of the street near police station. Some members and the people who cared about Mingchuan Street discussed the project in the office after work. Sometimes discussion lasted until

one or two a.m. Lin, who was Chief-Executive of the association, was responsible for grant writing. The official meeting was held every week, however, members were called when needed. The budget for the events was provided by non-profit organizations such as the Kanyuan Foundation, which was organized by teachers and parents of students of Kanyuan Junior High School, Lions Clubs International, and Rotary International<sup>121</sup>.

Besides holding events, Lin found some young teachers to chat inhabitants of Mingchuan Street, to capture their thoughts and expectations regarding the street. He visited rigid anti-preservation inhabitants by talking about their children's affairs, and attempted to understand their opinions. The association also invited preservation professionals such as Fu-Kuo Mi, Chu-Joe Hsia, and Tzu-Feng Tseng to give lectures and share their successful experience with the community.

After these events, some inhabitants on the street gradually realized the value of the shophouses and started to support preservation and the association. By 1997, some inhabitants, such as Jui-Sui Chen, were encouraged to organize the "Redevelopment Committee of Mingchuan Street in Sanhsia."

After Mingchuan Street was designated in 1998, the Sanchiaoyung Association completed its mission to preserve the shophouses on it. The association shifted its goal to investigating the history of industries in Sanhsia and the promotion of the indigo industry after 2000<sup>122</sup>.

The preservation process had caused some inhabitants to wonder about the future of the Sanhsia Historic District in the past. The process was full of complicated political decisions and contradictions, but residents began to take notice of the street, and were stimulated to act in the formation of organizations. The path of the

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<sup>121</sup> Lin, Chiung-Jen, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 22 January, 2009, The Aichiaoyi Café, Sanhsia, Taiwan.

<sup>122</sup> Lin, Chiung-Jen, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 22 January, 2009, The Aichiaoyi Café, Sanhsia, Taiwan.

preservation process of Tahsi traditional streets was different, and also represented different influences on the traditional streets. Therefore, in the next section, the process and the influences of the preservation movement in Tahsi will be analyzed.

### ***The Preservation Movement in Tahsi***

In contrast to Sanhsia, the preservation movement in Tahsi was much smoother because the Chief of the Tahsi Township Office supported community development and historic preservation. He strived for and later obtained a community development project, called “the Beautification of Historic Village and the Development of the Community Project in Tahsi, Taoyuan,” which was conducted by the Council for Cultural Affairs. The project was established the Tsautienwei Workshop. This successfully inspired common sense among the residents and stimulated the formation of a community-based organization, the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Association, by organizing a series of events.

### ***Support of the Preservation***

The Chief of the Tahsi Township Office, Hsi-Ta Lin, who was different from most chiefs of township offices at that time, considered culture an important resource to develop in Tahsi Town. He supported community development and historic preservation in Tahsi. He set up the Takekan Cultural Promotion Committee and held cultural events in Tahsi, such as Art Returning. The committee helped to establish the Takekan Cultural and Educational Foundation, which promoted art events, in 1996.

Chief Lin also applied for funds to hold the “National Culture and Art Festival in Tahsi-Recollect Arcadia” in 1994. Events included a Sight Seeing Tour of Traditional Furniture and Heritage, a Sight Seeing Tour of the Landscape in Taoyuan, and an Archives Exhibition of Takekan<sup>123</sup>.

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<sup>123</sup> Tsu-Feng Tseng, *The Exhibition of the Honor of the Tahsi Traditional Street* (Taipei: China Times Publishing Company, 1997), 9. Liao, Min-Hui, “The Geographical Implications of Preserving Tahsi old Streets” (MA thesis, Chinese Culture University, 2003), 44.

He also intended to preserve the shophouses in the Tahsi Historic District. A competition organized by the Tahsi Township Office was held to choose the most beautiful facades in the Tahsi Historic District in 1996. By the rules of the game the property owner could acquire 200,000 NT dollars (about 6,000 US dollars) for keeping the facades of their shophouses permanently. At that time, however, many of the property owners in the Tahsi Historic District were opposed to the project because they were afraid that if their facades were designated as monuments, future developmental opportunities would be restrained. The property owners indicated that they were willing to give Chief Lin 200,000 NT dollars to stop his intervention. The plan to preserve the shophouses in the Tashi Historic District seemed to be blocked<sup>124</sup>.

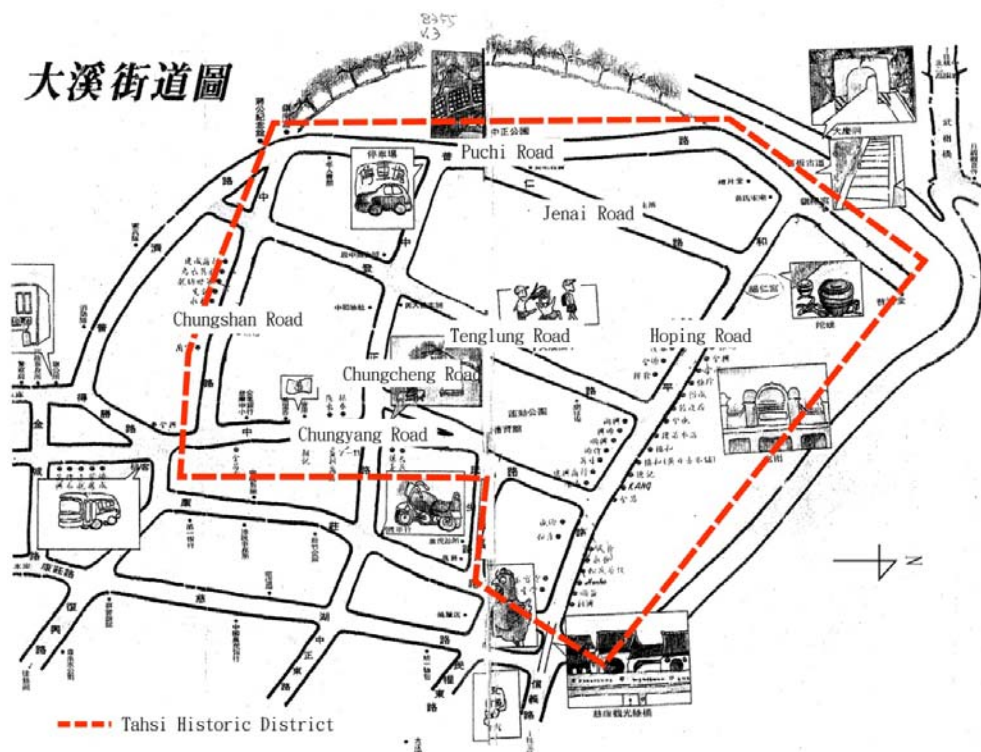


Figure 2.2 Tahsi Historic District Map

Source: Tsu-Feng Tseng, *The Exhibition of the Honor of the Tahsi Traditional Street* (Taipei: China Times Publishing Company, 1997).

<sup>124</sup> Huang, Wen-Cheng, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 08 January, 2009, The office of the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

### ***Community Development Project***

After the Beautification of the Historic Village and the Development of the Community Project in Tahsi, Taoyuan was conducted in 1996, the preservation of shophouses became a possibility. At that time, there were about 127 households on Hoping Road, 48 of which retained historic façades<sup>125</sup>. Therefore, the street still contained traditional scenes from the past. The head of the project, Prof. Tzu-Feng Tseng, first rented a 100-year-old shophouse on the No.48 Hoping Road and set up the Tsaotienwei Workshop with his students. The Tsaotienwei Workshop was intended to empower the Tahsi Community by gradually inducing a consciousness of community affairs, allowing inhabitants to become familiar with public participation. He maintained the idea introduced by Chief Lin about competition to choose the most beautiful facades along Hoping Road. However, Prof. Tseng understood that property owners would never accept the money to keep their facades permanently. Therefore, he changed the rules of the game. Inhabitants and tourists could vote for 15 of the most beautiful facades on Hoping Road. Winners could win 200,000 NT dollars, but they had to keep the original façades for 5 years. This was a very successful event, and 39 property owners took part. The competition encouraged property owners who took part to learn the history of their shophouses and of their families as well. Some property owners asked to join the game because they wanted to tell their neighbors that their ancestor was a Hsiutsai, a scholar in Ching Dynasty. The glorification and the identification of culture were strengthened by these activities. Inhabitants and property owners began to accept the workshop led by Prof. Tseng, and enjoyed the increasing attention of tourists<sup>126</sup>.

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<sup>125</sup> Tahsi Township Office, *The Final Report of "the Beautification of Historic Village and the Development of Community Project in Tahsi, Taoyuan"* (Taoyuan: Tahsi Township Office, 1996), 26.

<sup>126</sup> Tsu-Feng Tseng, *The Exhibition of the Honor of the Tahsi Traditional Street* (Taipei: China Times Publishing Company, 1997), 31-38.



After the competition, the residents began to notice the beauty of their historic shophouses and felt encouraged to become involved in the public affairs. The workshop held several meetings for the residents. Through these meetings, inhabitants decided to organize an association to deal with community affairs in the future. The “Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Association” was formed in 1996 with a goal of maintaining and restoring the historic buildings in Tahsi Historic District. After the association was set up, the workshop changed its role from leader to supporter, setting up its own plans and practices.

After the association was established, the workshop and the association discussed strategies for developing the Tahsi Historic District Community. The first event they held involved studying design for new signs for the stores on the street. Store owners and residents on Hopping Road designed their signs by a democratic process and collected funding by themselves. After the first successful event, they organized another, the “Training Camp of Tahsi Youths,” to attract the younger generation in the Tahsi Historic District to put their efforts into local culture and community affairs. This was an event to teach the young people of Tahsi about culture, historic buildings and natural resources, and training tour guides<sup>127</sup>.

After these events were held on Hopping Road, where the Beautification Project was mainly conducted, residents of other streets in the Tahsi Historic District complained about the partiality shown to that road. Therefore, association suggested holding a competition to choose the most beautiful facades in the Tahsi Historic District again, this time for all of the streets in the district. Instead of holding only a single event, some members of the Association considered designing a series of activities for the historic district. Therefore, the Old Town Heart Touched Festival

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid. 45,46.

was designed. It included 10 activities<sup>128</sup> and took place on Hoping Road, Chungshan Road, and Chungyang Road from May 16 to 18, 1997.

Through the process of holding these events, the public voice and sense of community for preserving the historic shophouses were formed. Prof. Tseng thought that it was the time to try to restore the shophouses. He held design meetings with the workshop, the association, and residents, who decided to restore the façades and arcades, the pipelines underground, the illumination system, the street furniture, the ceilings, and the pavement of arcades<sup>129</sup>.

Construction for the restoration was led by architect Hsin-An Chen and conducted by the Chialung Construction Company from February, 1998 to July, 1999. Reinforcement for the facades and the roofs cost 400,000 to 500,000 NT dollars per shophouse. Funding for the restoration was provided by the Minister of the Council for Cultural Affairs. During the construction period, the construction meetings, led by resident Hong-Yi Jiang, also an architect, were held every two weeks so that residents could offer their opinions and suggestion to the architect and construction company. After the restoration, the society planned a series of activities, "Historic Appearance but New Feeling," to celebrate its work<sup>130</sup>.

Following the restoration of Hoping Road, residents were satisfied with their finished facades and arcades. The association applied funding from the Construction and Planning Agency Minister of the Interior to restore the shophouses on Chungshan Road. The restoration was completed in May, 2000. Without the involvement of the

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<sup>128</sup> 10 activities were included: (1) The competition for the vision of the traditional town, (2) Choosing the most beautiful facades in the Tahsi Historic District, (3) The slate trail tour, (4) The Representation of the historic buildings on Hoping Road, (5) The art museum at Chungshan Road, (6) Stimulating business on Chungyang Road which is the main livelihood of Tahsi Historic District, (7) The play space of childhood, (8) The old picture exhibition, (9) The reconstruction of athletics park (10) The public visual arts exhibition. (Ibid. 47-56.)

<sup>129</sup> The funding was provided by the Beautification Project which was only for Hoping Road.

<sup>130</sup> The Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Association, "The Community Development Process of Tahsi Traditional Streets," [http://www.tahsioldst.org.tw/Society/community\\_development.php](http://www.tahsioldst.org.tw/Society/community_development.php).

community in the restoration project, the construction was professional. However, it did not evoke a sense of community among the residents on the road. Therefore, many storefronts on the road remained vacant after the restoration, including the most gorgeous building on Chungshan Road-Chienchen House.

### ***Conclusion***

After viewing the preservation and restoration processes of Sanhsia and Tahsi, several key points can be highlighted. For a long time, preservation has been a top-down process in Taiwan. However, the complicated preservation movement for traditional streets in Sanhsia gave the grassroots power of the local communities a chance to develop and influence the outcome. Inhabitants who supported preservation organized the Rescue Committee, while the anti-preservation group formed the Development Committee of Mingchuan Street in Sanhsia. However, the most important organization promoting the preservation of the Sanhsia Historic District was the Sanchiaoyung Association. It evoked the glory of the Sanhsia Historic District's past, and organized the common thoughts of inhabitants by holding events such as the Second National Culture and Art Festival in Sanhsia and the Base of Yuan Mountain — the Centennial of the Resistance of the Japanese in Sanchiaoyung.

However, the preservation movement from the Tahsi Traditional Streets followed a totally different path from that in Sanhsia. The preservation of the Tahsi Traditional Streets was supported by the Chief of the Tahsi Township Office, and was apparently another top-down preservation strategy conducted by the government. That changed after historic designation when the Beautification Project was conducted by Prof. Tsu-Feng Tseng at Hoping Road. This project was different from the traditional strategy of preservation and restoration. The project set up the Tsaotienwei Workshop to call Hoping Road residents' attention to the shophouses and encourage the establishment of the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Association, which

was formed by the inhabitants spontaneously. After the project was finished, it succeeded in the mission of the Tsao-tien-wei Workshop.

As this chapter demonstrated, the government and the local organizations had great influence on the preservation and the restoration on both Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets. However, the different paths of the preservation and restoration of Sanhsia and Tahsi Traditional Streets led to different results. The next chapter focuses on these results, the roles of community-based organizations, and government policies affecting these two traditional streets.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE INFLUENCE, PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONS, AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

##### ***Introduction***

After the restoration of traditional streets in Sanhsia and Tahsi, tourists became attracted to the area. In addition to the great economic benefits, this changed the tangible and intangible environment of the Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets. Therefore, in the first part of the chapter, the different results in the Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets after the preservation and restoration are shown. Moreover, the second part of the chapter focuses on analysis of the roles of community-based organizations in working with government policies, and the projects.

##### ***Results of Preservation and Restoration***

After the preservation and restoration of the traditional streets in Sanhsia and Tahsi, tourism increased substantially, particularly on weekends, and the local economy was revived. New souvenir stores and special local appetizer shops began to occupy the traditional streets. However, there was a difference between Tahsi and Sanhsia.

The situation in Sanhsia shows that the social and economic conditions can change, and that the goals of preservation can be achieved. Tourism increased and the store vacancy rate dropped to below 1% in 2007<sup>131</sup>. It seems that the goal of preservation was achieved. However, traditional industries disappeared on Sanhsia Traditional Street. More than 80% of the stores were transplanted from outside Sanhsia Town and did not represent traditional industries. Few original stores, like the

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<sup>131</sup> Lin, Wen-Yu, "The New Renaissance Movement of the Sanhsia Traditional Street", The Sanhsia Traditional Street Attractive Business District Website, [http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop\\_news\\_content.php?news\\_id=146](http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop_news_content.php?news_id=146).

Yuan-Chun Chinese Medicine Shop remained on the Sanhsia Traditional Street. Because rent for the shophouses on Sanhsia Traditional Street increased to six times what it was before the restoration, some of their inhabitants moved to the rear of the shophouses or shared store fronts with other new store owners<sup>132</sup>. In the 1880s, Sanhsia Traditional Street included about 12 indigo houses; however, today only one small traditional indigo store is located on the street and the indigo clothing in the store is made in China.

The Sanhsia Traditional Street lost much of its character after the restoration. It is common to see branch stores from Yingko and the Center for Traditional Arts, Yilan on Mingchuan Street and store signs advertise “Yingko Pottery” (Mingchung Street No. 106). Some tourists also complained that Sanhsia Traditional Street lacks its own identity<sup>133</sup>.

Businesses along the traditional street now follow the interests of tourists. When croissants became a popular dessert in Sanhsia, the stores started to sell croissants one after another. Today, five croissant bakeries are located on Sanhsia Traditional Street, and Kanghsihsuan Croissant Shop owns two chain stores within the 300-meter-long traditional street. In addition to deserts and croissants, souvenir stores have boomed.

Some stores moved outside the Sanhsia Traditional Street. A couple who operated a music store relocated to Tahsi Traditional Street because of the unreasonable high rent and the strong commercial atmosphere on Sanhsia Traditional

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<sup>132</sup> Lin, Chiung-Jen, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 22 January, 2009, The Aichiaoyi Café, Sanhsia, Taiwan and the survey by author.

<sup>133</sup> Teng-Li Kao, comment on “The Restoration of Sanhsia Traditional Street Lost Its Local Specialty,” The Wretch Blog, comment posted March 04, 2007. Wen-Liang Wu, “The Opening of the Sanhsia Traditional Street”, *United Daily News*, December 25, 2006.

Street<sup>134</sup>. Hsiang-Chi Wang, who owned an antique shop on Sanhsia Traditional Street, stated that preservation activities merely preserved its shape, but not its life.

By contrast, on Tahsi Traditional Street is different in many respects. The majority of stores (66.7%) on the Hoping Road are owned by original residents, and some traditional businesses still exist. There are 40 wood furniture stores, most located on the street for more than four decades. There is also one gravestone store, which has been located on the street more than a century. Some stores on the street provide everyday services such as the Meinimei Barber Shop and Beauty Salon (No. 1 Hoping Road), the A-Yun Restaurant (No. 18), the Jihchanghang Warehouse (No. 33), the Fengshui House (No. 111), and the Tsaishengtang Chinese Medicine Shop<sup>135</sup>.

The most famous food stores are dried tofu stores, which moved to the street when tourists gradually gathered, similar to what happened with the Sanhsia croissants stores. Some souvenir stores, chain stores, and a video game store are also located nearby. Some souvenir store owners are devoted to community affairs, however. They have created a new style of souvenirs and traditional toys. For example, the owner of “the Hisa-chieh-ssu-shih-fan-ti Souvenir Store,” the name of which refers to the lot number of the land, created a wooden pinwheel toy that displayed the exquisite skills of the artisans of Tahsi. Some souvenir stores sell handmade spinning tops with hand drawings on them, which are also traditional toys in Tahsi. The wood furniture stores also create new wooden products, including sculptures. This is because it more expensive for tourists to purchase furniture.

In Sanhsia, the conflict between commercial sensibility and local culture is obvious. Tourism is considered more important than the needs of residents. Because of this, some residents have moved out and leased their shophouses to outsiders.

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<sup>134</sup> Wang, Hsiang-Chi, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 10 January, 2009, The Liangyuhuan Antique Shop, Sanhsia, Taiwan.

<sup>135</sup> Survey by author.

Traditional businesses cannot afford the high rent and have to move out. Stores that acquire instant high rewards, such as chain stores or souvenir stores, move in and destroy the original life of the community. In Tahsi case, some businesses on the traditional street still keep their traditional appearance and products and pay attention to the needs of the residents. The traditional stores attract tourists by trying to develop new products based on their own skills. Residents still consider the traditional streets part of their living environment, so they also eat in the restaurants and get their hair cut on the traditional streets. In the weekdays, wives sometimes deal with vegetable vendors and chat in front of their shophouses. In some situations, the store-fronts of shophouses are blocked when family members get married or pass away. The space continues to be shared by residents and tourists.

### ***Promotion Policies and Government Projects***

When tours of traditional streets became more and more popular in Taiwan, the government created policies and projects to stimulate their development. Since 1994, the Council for Cultural Affairs has provided a series of programs having to do with community development, which has stimulated the emergence of historical societies and helped inhabitants to discover their communities. To assist the community development programs, the Environmental Protection Administration has offered support from the Program of Community Environment Improvement to create a sanitary and orderly community. In addition, the Ministry of Economic Affairs conducted the Commercial Street Development Program and the Commercial District Renewal Plan to promote economic redevelopment in the communities from 1995 to 1998.

The purpose of the Commercial District Renewal Plan was to feature specific characteristics of core businesses of a city by emphasizing one of six themes. These were (1) recreation, (2) traditional street, (3) scenic spot, (4) characteristic industry, (5)



shopping street, and (6) cultural industry<sup>136</sup>. Modern management techniques were introduced and cooperation among stores stressed to boost sales. The program was merged into the “Improvement of the Commercial Environment Five Year Plan,” which was conducted from 1999 to 2003. The main goal of the plan was to help commercial districts set up their own organizations and to connect resources such as local government and consultants, which are supported by the program. The Commercial District Program became one part of the “Construct New Hometown Communities Plan,” which includes “the Local Town Revival Plan” and “the Commercial Street Restoration Plan,” in the “Challenge 2008—Main Development Strategy of Nation,” which was conducted by the Executive Yuan from 2002 to 2004. In addition to the Local Town Revival Plan and the Commercial Street Restoration Plan, which were assumed by the Ministry of Economic Affairs, “the Local Cultural Industry Revival Plan,” formerly conducted by the Council for Cultural Affairs, was also included in the Construct New Hometown Communities Plan<sup>137</sup>.

The Taiwan Healthy Community Six Star Plan, which provided more strategies for community development, was implemented by the Executive Yuan continuously from 2005 to 2008<sup>138</sup>. The Local Town Revival Plan became one subset plan in the industry development category of the plan.

In addition to the Executive Yuan’s plan, the Ministry of Economic Affairs provided the Activation of Local Commercial Environment Plan from 2004 to 2007 to succeed the Improvement of Commercial Environment Five Year Plan. The successor,

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<sup>136</sup> Wen-Chao Juan, “Problem Research in Re-development of Shopping Street Area-A Case Study on the Commercial Policy, the Impression Shopping Street Area, Promoted by the Department of Commerce, Ministry of Economic Affairs” (MA thesis, Nan-Hua University, 2003), 82.

<sup>137</sup> The Ministry of Economic Affairs, “The Activation of Local Commercial Environment Plan”, Department of Commerce, Ministry of Economic Affairs, [http://gcis.nat.gov.tw/introduction\\_4\\_3\\_3.htm](http://gcis.nat.gov.tw/introduction_4_3_3.htm).

<sup>138</sup> Kun-Tang Liu, “The Promotion of the Business Streets and Districts,” *Space*, Dec (1999), 38.

“The Creation of Taiwan Brand for the Commercial District Plan“ is now being followed (2008 to 2012).

### ***Primary Community-based Organizations***

By analyzing the preservation and restoration in Sanhsia and Tahsi, it is clear that two different paths were followed. The different circumstances might be related to the development of community-based organizations and different government policy in the two towns. Therefore, this thesis will now attempt to assess the roles of local organizations and their influences on the tangible and intangible environment.

### **Sanhsia’s Two Principal Organizations**

There are two main community-based organizations in Sanhsia: (1) the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee and (2) the Sanchiaoyung Association.

#### **A. The Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee**

After the restoration, the Taipei County Government asked property owners to form a committee that could achieve the rehabilitation of and maintain the shophouses. In response, the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee was formed by the election of property owners from 101 households in January, 2007. A president and four chairmen were elected by the 15 committee members. Unfortunately, when the committee attempted to register with the Taipei County Government, the process stopped because only “condos” are allowed to set up an administrative committee under the provisions of the “Condominium Act”. The act does not refer to shophouses. Although the Management Committee can register as an association, it would lose its authority. The Taipei County Government had promised that it would find a way to resolve this problem, but the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee remains officially unrecognized. The committee is supposed to take charge of the

maintenance of shophouses and the environment near the shophouses, and coordinate different opinions among property owners as proposed by the Syu Yu Jian Architects & Associates which took charge of the Sanhsia Traditional Street's restoration project. The principal point of agreement between residents is that property owners should not be allowed to change the appearance of the façade or arcade; only interior decorations of the store should be altered. The committee is also supposed to charge fees for management and the maintenance for every property owner. However, because the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee is a temporary organization, this is not yet possible. The committee's expenses are paid for the commissioners. Sometimes the committee uses the resources of the Sanhsia Township Office to photocopy notices and posters. Also, because the committee lacks funding, its temporary office now is located at Chingchuan House, which is a tea house on the Sanhsia Traditional Street that is owned by the committee's treasurer<sup>139</sup>.

#### A1. Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee Operations

The committee is supposed to hold an annual meeting of the property owners, according to "the Condominium Act;" however, because it is not officially registered, the membership meeting is not official. The committee president is elected once a year and can be elected to serve for one more year. Therefore, the annual meeting will be the time the next president is elected. Due to the temporary position of the committee, the meeting for all of its members will be suspended until the problem of registration is solved.

Informal meetings for all of the members have been held twice since the committee was formed. Storeowners and property owners were all invited. The meetings focused on how to attract tourists and promote businesses on Sanhsia

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<sup>139</sup> Chen, Chao-Pin, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 16 January, 2009, The Hsinlung Temple. Sanhsia, Taiwan.

Traditional Street, and discussed a vision for the future. Because the meetings were informal, however, their attendance and actions were not considered as official.

Besides the annual meeting for all members, the committee usually holds a board meeting every two months. During the first half year, these are held every month because a lot of decisions need to be made. Sometimes, meetings are postponed or held every three months because there is no proposal to be discussed.

Most activities held on Sanhsia Traditional Street by the temporary committee are proposed by the Urban and Rural Development Bureau, Taipei County Government, and the Civil Affair Section in the Sanhsia Township Office. When the committee receives proposals from the Taipei County Government or township office, it sends meeting notifications to every committee member and a meeting is held. It is impossible for the government to provide financial support to an unofficial committee, so implementing projects and following procedures are difficult.

According to the plan of the Taipei County Government, all affairs on Sanhsia Traditional Street should be under the jurisdiction of the committee, but now they are administered by the Urban and Rural Development Bureau, Taipei County Government, and the Civil Affair Section, Sanhsia Township Office. Most of the time, the committee goes directly to the Secretary of the Chief of Sanhsia Town.

Another downside of the committee is its composition, which excludes the storeowners and other people not from Sanhsia Traditional Street. The ex-Chief Executive of the Sanchiaoyung Association — Chiung- Jen Lin has said,

Sometimes I will think that if I am the inhabitant here and the president of the committee, I can do something big. You see that we made the traditional street different when it was shabby in the past.... Now the traditional street has been preserved and restored. You just need to manage

it or grasp some ideas to promote it. However, they (the committee boards) did not do anything to benefit the traditional street. It is a pity!<sup>140</sup>

#### A2. Functions and Activities of the Committee

The primary function of the committee is to be the connection between the government, property owners, and store owners<sup>141</sup>. In fact, however, the committee does much more. The committee is responsible for coordinating a broad range of activities that attract people to the traditional street. The first activity was the opening ceremony for the Sanhsia Traditional Street, “Play in Spring, Sanchiaoyung” on January 10 and 11, 2007. Events held during these two days included an ancient costume parade, grandpa and grandma dessert vendors, and the outdoor A- Chung puppet theater<sup>142</sup>. These activities recreated the Sanhsia Traditional Street’s prosperity and attracted more than 60,000 tourists on the first day. The Taipei County Government also sponsored several original festivals on the Sanhsia Tradition Street such as the hog offerings competition, which is usually held at the Tsushih Temple on January 6 of the lunar calendar every year<sup>143</sup>, the Lantern Festival on March 4, and the birthday of Mazu in the Hsinglung Temple on the Sanhsia Traditional Street, on March 23. The Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee encouraged stores on the street to operate on these important dates, and tried to promote their products<sup>144</sup>.

After these warm-up activities organized by the Taipei Government, the committee provided additional ideas. The first proposal was a mass wedding, which took place on the Sanhsia Traditional Street in May, 2007. Taipei County couples got

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<sup>140</sup> Lin, Chiung-Jen, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 22 January, 2009, The Aichiaoyi Café, Sanhsia, Taiwan.

<sup>141</sup> Chen, Chao-Pin, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 16 January, 2009, The Hsinlung Temple. Sanhsia, Taiwan.

<sup>142</sup> Hsiang-Chieh Meng, “Play in Spring, Sanchiaoyung,” *United Daily News*, February 7, 2007.

<sup>143</sup> Li-Ju Huang, “Play New Games in New Year in Sanhsia Old Town,” *China Times*, February 9, 2007.

<sup>144</sup> The stores on the street definitely open on the weekends, but usually take one or two days off during the week.

married on the street in traditional Chinese dress. The Taipei County Government also invited popular singers and bands to attract more tourists. Another activity designed by the committee was a karaoke show at the end of the traditional street in front of the Chungwha Telecom Company Building every Saturday. The committee invited teachers and students from schools near Sanhsia Traditional Street to perform in the show.

In addition to these initiatives, the committee managed traffic, maintained the street's original appearance and kept the street clean. Vehicles were not allowed to pass through the Sanhsia traditional Street from 10 A.M. to 8 P.M. The police would give drivers tickets if they violated this rule, and committee members helped with enforcement. Because goods needed to be delivered by way of the street, some store owners complained about this rule. However, the committee maintained its role and reported problems regarding the lots around the Sanhsia Traditional Street to the Sanhsia Township Office and Taipei County Government.

To maintain the street's original appearance, committee members tried to convince store owners not to set up vendors' stalls at the arcades, and also requested the cleaning crew in the Sanhsia Township Office to clean the street every day and keep it clean and free of garbage<sup>145</sup>.

#### B. Sanhsia's Sanchiaoyung Association

The Sanchiaoyung Association is now located at #2 Lane 84, Mingchuan Street (on the Sanhsia Traditional Street). The Chief Executive of the Sanchiaoyung Association is Mei-Ling Liu. She has stated that the Sanchiaoyung Association has had no connection with the development of the Sanhsia Traditional Street. However, the Indigo Festival, which has been held by the Sanchiaoyung Association every year

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<sup>145</sup> Chen, Chao-Pin, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 16 January, 2009, The Hsinlung Temple. Sanhsia, Taiwan.

since August, 2002, remains one of the largest activities in Sanhsia. This festival makes the Sanhsia Traditional Street famous and reminds visitors about the importance of traditional industry in Sanhsia.

Before 2001, the main purpose of the association was to preserve the Sanhsia Traditional Street and development of the community. The association organized the National Culture and Art Festival in Sanhsia, and a Sanhsia history research and documentary project, and hoped that these would help local inhabitants recall their glorious past. One of the main research topics was the traditional indigo industry. The Sanchiaoyung Association started to promote the indigo industry in Sanhsia in 1999 with a project called “Finding the Lost Sanhsia Indigo”. Once the Sanhsia Traditional Street is preserved, the purpose of the Association is to preserve and research the culture of Sanhsia and to inspire a sense of community. At that time, the association occasionally conducted projects, including an exhibition of indigo works at the orientation of Taipei University and at the one hundredth anniversary ceremony of Sanhsia Elementary School in January and April, 2000; the family indigo camp in Anhsi Elementary School in May, 2000; a lecture on indigo at the Kanyuan Junior High School in July, 2000; a workshop on making traditional indigo in August, 2000; and a family indigo camp in October, 2000. The association was commissioned to administer the promotion of the Indigo Cultural Industry Project by the Council for Cultural Affairs in 2001. After the Sanhsia Traditional Street became the focus of the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee, however, the Sanchiaoyung Association became almost exclusively concerned with the indigo industry. Because these activities stimulate inhabitants to become involved with improvements in the

community, the association received the Best Community Industry Reward from the Community Empowering Society, Taiwan in 2005<sup>146</sup>.

#### B1. Sanhsia's Sanchiaoyung Association Operation Composition and Frame of the Association

The association was organized by people who love Sanhsia local history and culture, and are interested in the history of the indigo industry. There are five kinds of memberships, including normal members, permanent members, and honorary members<sup>147</sup> who live in Sanhsia, group members (organizations) in Sanhsia, and supporting members who do not live in Sanhsia. The executive board of the association is made up of 2 honorary presidents<sup>148</sup>, the president, 8 directors (including 2 executive directors), 3 supervisors (including 1 executive supervisors), the Chief Executive, and the Executive Secretary. The president of the board of directors is elected by the directors, and he or she designates the Chief Executive, and the Executive Secretary. The Chief Executive organizes the executive group which includes the Activities Section, Editing Section, Research Section, General Affairs Section, and Meeting Affairs Section<sup>149</sup>.

A growing number of enthusiasts interested in dyeing led the association to organize the Sanhsia Dyehouse in April, 2001. The dyehouse was located at the alley next to the Sanhsia Folks Arts Museum, which was the Sanhsia Village Office in the Japanese Colonial Period. The dyehouse was a successful case of finding a new use

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<sup>146</sup> The Boards of the Sanchiaoyung Association, "The Newsletters of Sanchiaoyung Association(1996-2005)," the Sanchiaoyung Association, <http://www.sanchiaoyung.org.tw/85-90.htm>.

<sup>147</sup> Normal members pay member fees every year for a year long membership; permanent members pay member fees once; honorary members have made great contributions to the association and are accepted by the boards. The honorary members do not need to pay member fees.

<sup>148</sup> Usually the ex-presidents are designated honorary presidents.

<sup>149</sup> The Sanchiaoyung Association, "The Frame of the Association," the Sanchiaoyung Association, <http://www.sanchiaoyung.org.tw/community.htm>.



for a historic space<sup>150</sup>. In June, 2009, the dyehouse moved to the association office at Mingchuan Street. The dyehouse provides classes in indigo dyeing for the community, the experience of Do It Yourself (DIY) indigo dyeing for tourists during weekends, and also sells indigo products of students and members in the association office. The dyehouse set up a website for selling indigo products in 2005 so that customers can also purchase their indigo products off-site and have them shipped.

## B2. Functions and Activities of the Association

The Indigo Festival held by the Sanchiaoyung Association is supported by the Sanhsia Township Office. The predecessor of the Indigo Festival was the annual exhibition of work from indigo classes, which was held annually by the association starting in 1999. The activities in the festival include: an exhibition of indigo clothing, an indigo tour<sup>151</sup>, an indigo conference, lectures about indigo by professionals, indigo DIY, and feasts of indigo plants<sup>152</sup>. The festival attracts a lot of tourists and creates a chance to promote the indigo industry. Also, the Indigo Festival is the greatest achievement of the community every year. It creates a common conversation in the community and arouses a sense of community<sup>153</sup>.

The association offers indigo dyeing classes once a week for the community, and especially mothers. Indigo classes include techniques of indigo dyeing and development of indigo products. These indigo dyeing classes also cultivate future indigo teachers for the association and bring the neighborhood together. The

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<sup>150</sup> Chen, Chao-Pin, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 16 January, 2009, The Hsinlung Temple. Sanhsia, Taiwan.

<sup>151</sup> An indigo tour includes two kinds of trips: a nature and culture trip (for two days) and an art and culture trip (for one day). The activities in the first trip are walking along the Chung-Keng Stream and near-by mountainous area, visiting the Sanhsia Traditional Street, and indigo DIY. The activities in the second trip are visits to the Limeishu Memorial Gallery, the Sanhsia History and Documentation Museum, and the Sanhsia Tsushih Temple and the indigo DIY.

<sup>152</sup> The feasts of indigo plants started at 2004.

<sup>153</sup> Chiung-Jen Lin, *Blue Gold Legend- the Golden Age of Sanchiaoyung Indigo* (Taipei City: Taiwan Shufeng, 2008), 242.

association received funding of the development of community crafts from the National Taiwan Craft Research Institute in 2009, and is going to hold classes on the design of indigo products and cooking various recipes based on indigo foods<sup>154</sup>.

In addition to these activities, the association provides an indigo tour, which is the same as the indigo tour in the Indigo Festival, previously mentioned. Tour guides are trained by the association. Teachers of the training classes include the chairperson of the association, professors from the Architecture Department, the curator of the Limeishu Memorial Gallery, painters, and local elderly people. Sanhsia residents and the members of the association are able to enroll in the training. Students in the tour guide classes pay tuition of 500 to 1,000 NT dollars, and guide the cultural tour twice after finishing the trainings. Following the training, students understand more of the local culture and history of their home town, and get a sense of achievement when they introduce their home town to the tourists<sup>155</sup>.

In 2008, the association held the First Composition Competition of Beautiful Sanhsia. The competition focuses on finding the beauty of Sanhsia in the fields of culture, history, historic houses, nature, industries, festivals, and folklore. The funding for the competition was provided by the Sanhsia Township Office. It is another method to stimulate the inhabitants to recall their impressions of Sanhsia<sup>156</sup>.

### B3. Funding the association

The association is self-sufficient. Its primary income continues to come from membership fees, income from historic tours, fees for indigo DIY activities, tuition for

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<sup>154</sup> The Sanchiaoyung Association, *"The plan of the Development of Community Crafts of the National Taiwan Craft Research Institute,"* April 18, 2009.

<sup>155</sup> The Sanchiaoyung Association, *"The Guide Training Plan of Nature and Human Resources in Sanhsia,"* 2006.

<sup>156</sup> The Sanchiaoyung Association, "The First Composition Competition of Beautiful Sanhsia", The Sanchiaoyung Association, <http://www.sanchiaoyung.org.tw/index.html>.

indigo classes, and sales of indigo products. The association has also attempted to apply for funding from government and private foundations.

Although the indigo industry has become to represent traditional industry in Sanhsia, the association did not set up an indigo dyehouse or store on the Sanhsia Traditional Street. The association office, located in a lane off of the street, has little interaction with public. Only when the Indigo Festival is held are several storefronts on the street borrowed to present displays of the traditional indigo industry. Ironically, the connection of the Sanhsia Traditional Street to the indigo industry is weak. The relationship between the Sanchiaoyung Association and the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee is also very limited. When the Indigo Festival finishes, the indigo industry withdraws from the Sanhsia Traditional Street<sup>157</sup>.

### **Government Policies Conducted in Sanhsia**

After the restoration, the Kaichuan Urban and Land Institute (KUL Institute) was commissioned by the Ministry of Economic Affairs to put into practice “the Local Town Revival Program—Sanhsia Mingchuan Street, Mingshen Street and Hoping Road Commercial District Revival Project” from 2007 to 2008<sup>158</sup> because the Sanhsia Traditional Street lacked a distinct identity. After finishing the one-year program, the KUL Institute has continued to implement the Sanhsia Mingchuan Traditional Street Commercial District Revival Project, which is part of “the Innovation of Taiwan Brand for the Commercial District Four Year Program,” since 2008. The main purpose of the current program is to help consultants for the KUL Institute train commercial operators and business managers. The KUL Institute also offers advice on improvement strategies in the management training, and in marketing. In fact,

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<sup>157</sup> Lin, Chiung-Jen, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 22 January, 2009, The Aichiaoyi Café, Sanhsia, Taiwan.

<sup>158</sup> The Taipei County Government selected suitable candidates within Taipei County and the Ministry of Economic Affairs chose appropriate places (such as Sanhsia Traditional Street) to conduct the Local Town Revival Program.

however, the KUL Institute directly approached the stores that were willing to participate in the project without cooperating with the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee<sup>159</sup>. The KUL Institute only informed the committee after launching its efforts. In the third meeting concerning the project, the store owner of Chincheng Pottery indicated that the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee, which was formed by the property owners, did not live on the street and did not put enough effort into promotion and activities<sup>160</sup>. The KUL Institute responded in the fourth meeting that it would assist the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee to register as a legal committee as soon as possible and promote the committee as the commercial organization in charge of managing the street. In addition, all store owners would be included as members of the committee and representatives of the store owners could be elected to the board at the members' meeting. By the end of the current project, however, none of these objectives had been achieved.

After the Local Town Revival Program was completed, the KUL Institute helped the Sanhsia Traditional Street to apply to the Innovation of Taiwan Brand for the Commercial District Four Year Program. The project, which was called the Sanhsia Mingchuan Traditional Street Commercial District Revival Project, started in the middle of 2008. The project's slogan is "the Traditional Street with History Alive — the Renaissance of Sanhsia Mingchuan Traditional Street." The project intended to pull historical and cultural factors back into the Sanhsia Traditional Street by tracing the original distinct identities of the location. It was designed to combine historic and

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<sup>159</sup> Chen, Chao-Pin, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 16 January, 2009, The Hsinlung Temple. Sanhsia, Taiwan.

<sup>160</sup> The KUL Institute, "The Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Local Town Revival Program-Sanhsia Mingchuan Street, Mingshen Street and Hoping Road Commercial District Revival Project (August 15, 2007)," The Sanhsia Traditional Street Attractive Business District Website, [http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop\\_news\\_content.php?news\\_id=119](http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop_news_content.php?news_id=119).

cultural factors with the businesses on the street so that the prosperity could be sustainable by attracting more national and international tourists. This was done by increasing the number of activities held at night, involving digital mechanisms in the stores on the street such as cell phones with electronic purses, and providing personal tour guide systems. In addition, the historic building simulation project restored the interior of a shophouse as an original residence in the Ching Dynasty and the Japanese Colonial Period. This project can also be viewed as a local house museum plan. The first example is a croissant bakery. The shophouse of the bakery was owned by a scholar in Ching Dynasty so the store owner of the current bakery connected the original interior and the story of the scholar with the croissant products<sup>161</sup>.

The ability to attract tourists is also a key point of the project. For increasing numbers of foreign tourists, the project also offered three series of the business classes to the store owners and clerks on the street: the product packaging and marketing course (5 classes), foreign language course (9 English and Japanese classes), and a sales promotion course<sup>162</sup>.

The importance of commercial organizations was repeatedly mentioned in the minutes of the project meeting.

The commercial organization is the soul of the revitalization of the commercial district. We will co-ordinate the opinions of the store owners and the Sanhsia Town Office to establish a sound commercial organization and will help the operation of the organization. Finally, we will “empower” the business district<sup>163</sup>.

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<sup>161</sup> The KUL Institute, “The Minute of the Second Street Meeting of the Mingchuan Traditional Street Commercial District Revival Project,” The Sanhsia Sanchiaoyung Traditional Street Website, [http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop\\_news.php?page=2](http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop_news.php?page=2).

<sup>162</sup> The KUL Institute, “The Courses Lists,” The Sanhsia Sanchiaoyung Traditional Street Website, [http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop\\_news\\_content.php?news\\_id=142](http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop_news_content.php?news_id=142).

<sup>163</sup> The KUL Institute, “The Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Local Town Revival Program- Sanhsia Mingchuan Street, Mingshen Street and Hoping Road Commercial District Revival Project (August 15,

The KUL Institute also provided strategies for resolving the registration problem of the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee.

The commercial organization of the Sanhsia Traditional Street can be registered as an association rather than an administrative committee. In addition, the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee should connect with the present store owners on the street. Therefore, the problem that most store owners can not participate in the present commercial organization (the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee) can be resolved<sup>164</sup>.

In the future, after the commercial organization is registered, the organization can charge a maintenance fee from the store owners every month for street cleaning and security<sup>165</sup>.”

Because restoration of the Sanhsia Traditional Street brought great economic profit for local stores and the Taipei County Government, promotion of the street continues. The project model has spread to 12 traditional streets within Taipei County; the project is also intended to redesign the image of the alleys and public spaces around the Sanhsia Traditional Street, and re-create traditional images into the lanes near the Mingchuan Street<sup>166</sup>. It is also expected to create space for workshops of arts and local industries. For example, the park next to Jenai Street was designed as an indigo theme park to provide a place for tourists to experience indigo DIY and

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2007),” The Sanhsia Traditional Street Attractive Business District Website, [http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop\\_news\\_content.php?news\\_id=119](http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop_news_content.php?news_id=119).

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> The KUL Institute, “The Minute of the First Street Meeting of the Mingchuan Traditional Street Commercial District Revival Project (June 20, 2008),” The Sanhsia Traditional Street Attractive Business District Website, [http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop\\_news\\_content.php?news\\_id=136](http://www.sanchiaoyung.com.tw/shop_news_content.php?news_id=136).

<sup>166</sup> Hung-Chih Pan, “The Plan of the Redevelopment of the Traditional Streets in Taipei County,” *Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News*, February 15, 2008.

learn more about the indigo industry. The project was supposed to be completed in July, 2009<sup>167</sup>.

### **Tahsi's Two Principal Organizations**

There are two main community-based organizations in Tahsi: (1) the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society and (2) the Tahsi Image Business District Association.

#### **A. The Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society**

The Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society grew from the promotion of Prof. Tzu-Feng Tsung and the Tsaotienwei Workshop during the process of developing the Tahsi community. Before Prof. Tseng set up the Tsaotienwei Workshop on No.48 Hoping Road, the inhabitants of Hoping Road were divided into at least three factions. Each faction had its own interpersonal relationship. There were also some small organizations such as Buddhist Studies Society and Neighborhood Friendship Association on the Hoping Road<sup>168</sup>. After the competition for the most beautiful facades in Tahsi Historic District was conducted, residents realized that an increasing number of tourists were coming to visit the traditional street. At the workshop's second meeting, held on July 12, residents decided to organize the "Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society," establishing its mission: "to maintain and redevelop the historic buildings of the Tahsi Historic District"<sup>169</sup>.

#### **A1. The Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society's Composition and Frame**

Thirty members and the officers of the society attended the early meetings. However, at the beginning, most members of the society were inhabitants of Hoping

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<sup>167</sup> Chun-Yi Lu, Hsuan-Hsien Lin, "Allys Space Recycling, Sanhsia Mingchung Traditional Street," *Urban Design* (2008.12):06.

<sup>168</sup> Tsu-Feng Tseng, *The Exhibition of the Honor of the Tahsi Traditional Street* (Taipei: China Times Publishing Company, 1997), 37.

<sup>169</sup> Yu-Chan Chiang, "A study on how Organizational Learning Theory is applied to the integrated Community Development- An example of Her-Pyng Old Street in Tahsi," (MA thesis, National Cheng-Chi University, 2001), 69.

Road. Later other residents in the historic district also participated in the society. After the members were selected, the society was registered with the Taoyuan County Government as a cooperative association.

The society has a board of directors with 11 members. The supervisory board has 3 members and the meeting affairs section has 2 members including the Chief Executive and a Chief Financial Officer. Among the board of directors, 2 were elected as Executive Directors and 1 is the Director General. One was elected as the Executive Director<sup>170</sup>.

The organization was formed by store owners and residents. The head of the neighborhood (neighborhood magistrate), who is usually the most respected and enthusiastic person in the neighborhood, Chuang- Fu Chiu, was elected the first Director General of the organization. At least 7 of the 14 members of the board are store owners and inhabitants of Hopping Road.

In 2010, the society included about 95 individuals. All but 4 or 5 members lived within the Tahsi Historic District. Although the society is open to all residents of Tahsi Town, most members of the organization are from the Tahsi Historic District and most activities are held within the Tahsi Historic District<sup>171</sup>.

Moreover, the members of the organizations on Tahsi Traditional Street are floating members. Some committee members are also the members of the boards of the Tahsi Image Business District Association and the Hsinfu Community Development Organization. According to an interview with the Director General of the society, Mr. Huang, members of the boards of the society and those of other organizations in Tahsi Historic District overlap. For example, the Director General of

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<sup>170</sup> The Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society, "The Frame of the Society," The Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society Website, [http://www.tahsioldst.org.tw/Society/society\\_member.php](http://www.tahsioldst.org.tw/Society/society_member.php).

<sup>171</sup> Huang, Wen-Cheng, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 08 January, 2009, The office of the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society, Taoyuan, Taiwan.



the society may also be Executive Director of the board of directors of the Tahsi Image Business District Association, and may also be Executive Director of the supervisory board. In addition to the core members, group members also overlap among all these organizations. Most of the members of the organizations are inhabitants in the Tahsi Historic District.

During interviews conducted with residents or occupants of Tahsi Historic District, some on the Hoping Road considered the society an organization solely for those on the Hoping Road.

#### A2. Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society's Operation

When the society was first formed, the cooperative association was to hold a meeting of the boards every three months and a member meeting every year. When activities increased, however, meetings were held every week, or even twice a week. Participants increased from thirty to forty. Members learned about discussing public affairs in meetings<sup>172</sup>.

Three kinds of meetings are held within the society: meeting of boards of directors and supervisors, meetings for all members, and extra meetings (including distribution meetings). The first kind of meeting is usually held once every three or four months. The boards review past events and discuss suggestions for new activities. Members are sometimes invited to join these meetings as well. Meetings for all members are usually held once every year, achievements and projects for the next year are usually reported and discussed at these meetings. Extra meetings are sometimes held between board meetings such as preparatory meetings before events or distribution meetings during events.

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<sup>172</sup> Tsu-Feng Tseng, *The Exhibition of the Honor of the Tahsi Traditional Street* (Taipei: China Times Publishing Company, 1997), 39, 40.

Plans for the following year are developed at meetings of the board of directors and supervisory board. These plans include beautification of the ancient trail, and workshops for volunteer guides, and generally are based on suggestions made by residents who visit other successful communities, commercial districts, tourist locations, or traditional streets.

When the next year's working plans are decided upon and approved by the board of directors and the supervisors, project proposals are prepared by the Chief Executive and sent to the Taoyuan County Government or Tahsi Township Office for funding<sup>173</sup>.

#### A3. Funding the Society

Chief resources for income for the organization are: membership fees, charges for historic tours, and sales of souvenirs and brochures. However, expenses for these activities are still primarily paid for by the government although the society also asks for donations from other organizations, foundations, and the Tahsi community. Government funding for activities is supported by different offices. Local activities are usually supported by the Tahsi Township Office, and county level activities are usually supported by the Taoyuan County Government. National-level activities are supported by the Council for Culture Affairs and the Executive Yuan<sup>174</sup>.

#### A4. Functions of the Society

Functions of the Society can be divided into two stages. The society was led by the Tsaotienwei Workshop during the first stage. The second stage of the society started with the withdrawal of the Tsaotienwei Workshop in August, 1997.

In the first stage, boards and members of the society were taught to operate and promote community development by themselves in the future. The workshop

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<sup>173</sup> Huang, Wen-Cheng, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 8 January, 2009, The office of the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

provided a series of means to train the society, such as helping to hold meetings for residents, teaching discussion methods, and supporting ideas from residents and putting them into practice.

To attract store owners and residents involved in the affairs in the community, two main projects were organized in this stage. First, the society suggested studying designs for new signs for stores on the street. The Tsao-tienwei Workshop intended to provide 24 designs executed by architecture students for discussion. However, members of society had their own opinions, wanted to design their own signs, and were willing to pay for the signs themselves. Of 60 stores along the street, 55 joined in these activities. After the completion of the design, the society planned a festival, “Traditional Street Changes Its Clothes with New Charming Signs,” to celebrate the completion of new signs and pavement. Previously, many society members did not believe that this kind of activity could be held without government support. After their success, they gained confidence and a sense of achievement. Although the designs of the signs on the Tahsi Traditional Street are not sophisticated and lack some variety, the process of sign design itself is a social participation process, and the society members learned how to join together in the discussion of public affairs<sup>175</sup>.

The second project is the restoration design on the Hoping Road. The Beautification Project was intended to make a plan for the restoration of the road. After meetings among the workshop, the society, and residents, they decided on a restoration plan for Hoping Road which included: (1) restoration of the facades and arcades, (2) pipelines underground, (3) a lighting system, (4) street furnitures, (5) replacing ceilings and pavement of arcades<sup>176</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> Tsu-Feng Tseng, *The Exhibition of the Honor of the Tahsi Traditional Street* (Taipei: China Times Publishing Company, 1997), 41.

<sup>176</sup> Tahsi Township Office, *The Final Report of “the Beautification of Historic Village and the Development of Community Project in Tahsi, Taoyuan”* (Taoyuan: Tahsi Township Office, 1996), 41.

Because of the completion of the Beautification Project on August 31, 1997, the workshop withdrew from the community. The society went into its second stage and had to operate independently.

#### Helping and Consulting and Serving as an Intermediary through the Construction

At this stage, the society first reached its first goal of assisting the restoration on Hoping Road, playing an important role in the construction. Before the physical work began, property owners had to provide sufficient evidence of the original appearance of their historic buildings. The society encouraged residents to gather historic resources about their shophouses. Then, community planners helped residents to create restoration designs. Because some residents had only opinions, the historic character of some buildings was poor. This strategy was successful, however, because it brought together inhabitants, planners, and contractors.

The society was also viewed as a consultant and an intermediary throughout the construction process. Supervisory meetings were led by the architect, Hung-Yi Chiang, who was also a resident of Hoping Road. People living along Hoping Road presented opinions to architects and contractors throughout the construction process. Everyone discussed construction details every two weeks throughout the construction period. During the construction, some inhabitants protested and did not cooperate because they believed that construction fees were unfair, construction quality was bad, and they suffered a loss of income during the construction period. However, the society could only coordinate between property owners, architects, and contractors. It lacked power to change the rights or obligations of anyone<sup>177</sup>.

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<sup>177</sup> Shin-An Chen, "The Study of Build Construction Issues in Taiwan's Traditional Street-Building Reuse Project—the Case Study of Historical Street-Building's Beautify Construction in Ta-shi," *Journal of Chao-Yang University of Technology* (1999), 215.

### Sponsoring the Activities

Besides supporting the restoration construction, the society brought residents together to involve them in community affairs.

After the restoration, the construction of Hopping Road was completed, a series of activities followed. "Historic Appearance but New Feeling," was designed as a new celebration of the renewed character of the location<sup>178</sup>. Traditional activities were also altered. The Chinese Lantern Festival is held on January 15<sup>th</sup>. Usually, people hold lanterns and have parades in this celebration. Because of the rains in Tahsi during the festival, it is hard to keep lanterns lit, so people in Tahsi usually hold torches instead. The society and the Yuehmei Community Development Association adopted this tradition and created the Tahsi Torch Festival in 2006. The society and the community development association sponsored a workshop that taught people to make torches by themselves in the afternoon before the event started, in front of the Fujen Temple. After sunset, Tahsi people parade with torches from the Fu-Jen Temple on Hopping Road to the Taching Arch near the Tahan River. People in Tahsi make or buy the torches by themselves, and donate their income to the disadvantaged minority in Taoyuan County. The Tahsi people said that they wanted to join this event voluntarily. The government did not ask them take part. Certainly, they did everything by themselves. People in Tahsi were also proud of the event because it was a creation of the residents of the Tahsi Historic District<sup>179</sup>.

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<sup>178</sup> Liao, Min-Hui, "The Geographical Implications of Preserving Tahsi old Streets" (MA thesis, Chinese Culture University, 2003), 48.

<sup>179</sup> Tawenhsikua's Blog, "The Torches Festival in Tahsi," Tawenhsikua's Blog, <http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/jw!UnmjrJOWBhT34wntvVHJj7c/>.

### Succeeding the Plans in the Beautification Project

Another important function of the society is to finish the plans of the Beautification Project which were not completed because of limited budget and human resources. The society continued to follow the ideas set out by the workshop.

Before the restoration of the properties along Hopping Road, some historic shophouses had already been rebuilt in the modern style. After the restoration of the historic shophouses on Hopping Road, some inhabitants and the society decided that the new modern style houses were incompatible, so they tried to modify the subsequent new façades called this project the second stage of the restoration project. The society and the residents obtained funding for this project (about 600,000 NT dollars) from Taoyuan County Government. Thirty-five facades of the subsequent new houses on the Hopping Road were “restored” as traditional facades after half a year of construction. Still, eight property owners on Hopping Road were unwilling to modify their modern facades to traditional ones. Construction started on January 22, 2009. The Taoyuan County Government also promised that it would provide full budget support if property owners on Chungshan Road were willing to modify their modern facades to the traditional style<sup>180</sup>.

A convention of the Hopping Road residents was also planned to advance the goals of the Beautification Project. However, even after the restoration of Hopping Road, the convention was organized. Through the process of traffic control and vender problems within the historic district, inhabitants instead established a convention with the assistance of the Institute of Historical Resources Management, Taiwan. A workshop on Hopping Road in Tahsi was held in February, 2009<sup>181</sup>.

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<sup>180</sup> Tahsi Township Office, *The Final Report of “the Beautification of Historic Village and the Development of Community Project in Tahsi, Taoyuan”* (Taoyuan: Tahsi Township Office, 1996), 129-131.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. 134-176.

### Connecting with Historic Resources Nearby

To connect the Tashi Historic District to other historic sites nearby, after the restoration of the Tashi Traditional Street, the society had the common sense to apply for financial assistance for the restoration of historic sites near the Tashi Traditional Street, such as the Litengfang Mansion, the Kuanyin Temple of Mount Lientso, and the Chaiming Temple, as well as the beautification of the Tashi Suspension Bridge<sup>182</sup>.

### Training Courses

The society intended to encourage residents to learn about the history and culture of the Tashi Historic District, to participate in community affairs, and to develop industry within the district. It designed several kinds of training courses: tour guide training, knitting, flower arrangement, personal growth course for women, industrial redevelopment, and wood crafts industrial redevelopment.

The society provided cultural tours for the tourists in Tashi with guides who were trained by members of the society. Tour guides included residents, young and old. The training courses are held frequently because these local tour guides easily lose their guiding abilities due to lack of practice. The society sometimes holds a training camp during summer and winter vacations for young people, including elementary school students. Although the young people do not serve as real tour guides for the society, they became the cultural seeds for future society activities. The tour guide training course not only fosters the tour guides and increases the income of the committee, but also provides a good chance to educate the inhabitants of the Tashi Traditional Street about history and culture<sup>183</sup>.

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<sup>182</sup> Huang, Wen-Cheng, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 08 January, 2009, The office of the Taoyuan Tashi Old Street Redevelopment Society, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

<sup>183</sup> Huang, Wen-Cheng, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 08 January, 2009, The office of the Taoyuan Tashi Old Street Redevelopment Society, Taoyuan, Taiwan. The Taoyuan Tashi Old Street Redevelopment Society, ([http://www.tashioldst.org.tw/Society/guide\\_service.php](http://www.tashioldst.org.tw/Society/guide_service.php)).

The society was also commissioned to provide tours by the Taoyuan County Government. One such project, the Community Deep Cultural Tour in 2008, attracted a lot of people and proved very popular<sup>184</sup>.

Other kinds of training courses were developed. A series of classes for women on the Tahsi Traditional Street included knitting, flower arrangement, and personal growth. These classes encouraged women who were more shy and seldom participated in community activities and public meetings to get to know other women in the community.

After the restoration, the society noticed that famous wooden crafts (especially shrines) on the Tahsi Traditional Street became less and less popular because it was hard for the tourists to buy them during their visits. Therefore, the society took a number of steps to stimulate the wood crafts industry. These included holding industrial redevelopment courses to teach craftsmen how to make new products. The society applied for funds to support the courses for three years and they are organized by the National Taiwan Craft Research Institution.

In addition to the training courses, seminars were held in which the representatives of other communities discussed their strategies for community development. The society also sponsored tours that allowed residents to visit other communities and learn about the experiences of other people.

### Oral History

One of the most important goals of the society is to investigate and document the historic resources of the town. Therefore, the society applied for government funding and executed an oral history project. The field work was led by the architect

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<sup>184</sup> The Taoyuan County Government Culture Affair Bureau, "Community Deep Cultural Tour 2008," <http://www.tyccc.gov.tw/>.



Hong-Yi Jiang, also an inhabitant of Hopping Road. To date, at least 30 stories have been recorded and six historic stela with carved inscription have been rubbed.

#### The Role of the Society in Facilitating Discussion

The society provides means to facilitate conversations among residents, and offers opportunities for everyone to give their opinions and advice. It provides chances to get together and form common understandings.

The society also acts as a manager to coordinate and resolve problems on the Tahsi Traditional Street. For example, when an increasing number of tourists began to visit the Tahsi Traditional Street, the society took steps to forbid traffic on Hopping Road on weekends. Before the plan was executed, the society asked the opinions of residents and held workshops to explain the plan's regulations. Some furniture store owners protested because they needed to load and unload their goods by trucks every day. The society tried to explain the advantages of traffic control on Hopping Road, indicating rising rent, increasing numbers of customers, and job opportunities, all allowing residents to stay in their hometown. Following negotiations between protesters and the society, more than 90% of inhabitants agreed to practice traffic control from noon to 6 o'clock in the afternoon beginning in August, 2007. Store owners are permitted to use Hopping Road before noon and after 6 p.m. Furthermore, because traffic control is successfully practiced on Hopping Road, store owners on the Chungshan Road and the Chungcheng Road requested a similar plan. The president of the Tahsi Image Business District Association Mr. Chuang, the head of the Fujen Neighborhood Mr. Huang, and the head of the Hsingjen Neighborhood Mr. Chiu all expressed the opinion that inhabitants of Chungshan Road and the Chungcheng Road wanted to join with Hopping Road in controlling traffic at the end of 2008. As a result, since July, 2009, Hopping Road, Chungshan Road, and Chungcheng Road do not allow

traffic on weekends. This plan provided a safer environment for tourists and, therefore, was successful attracted more people<sup>185</sup>.

Although several functions were taken on by the society, due to the loss of the leadership of the Tsaotienwei Workshop, some functions of the society were lost. After the Tsaotienwei Workshop withdrew, most plans were provided and supported by the Tahsi Township Office. The society lacked the ability to come up with its own strategies for preserving and managing the traditional street.

#### B. The Tahsi Image Business District Association

Before the Tahsi Image Business District Association was established, a loosely organized business group existed in the Tahsi Historic District. This began to change in 1995 when the Ministry of Economic Affairs began executing the Commercial District Renewal Project, which is a sub-project of “the Improvement of Commercial Environment Three Year Plan,” and the Chiaopanshan Image Business District was the first of its kind to be established in Taoyuan County, near Tahsi Town. The president of the original commercial organization of the Tahsi Traditional District wanted to become involved but the Ministry believed there were other resources, and community development projects supported by the Council for Cultural Affairs were not yet under way. After “the Improvement of Commercial Environment Three Year Plan,” the Ministry of Economic Affairs conducted another “Improvement of Commercial Environment Five Year Plan” which commenced in 1999.

Unfortunately, when the restoration of the Tahsi Historic District was completed in 1999, it attracted few tourists. The Tahsi Township Office and residents in the Tahsi Historic Districts needed more help. Before the Tahsi Image Business District Association was set up, a temporary organization called the Taoyuan Tahsi

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<sup>185</sup> Huang, Wen-Cheng, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 08 January, 2009, The office of the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

Old Street Redevelopment Society took charge of the budget and promoted the operation of the Tahsi Image Business District Association. The president of the original commercial organization on the Tahsi Traditional District was invited to convene the preparatory committee in 2000, and the project was approved, so that was officially established in 2001<sup>186</sup>.

The Tahsi Commercial District Renewal Project<sup>187</sup> was divided into four stages over four years. The first year was the pre-practice stage. At this stage, merchants who participated in the Tahsi Image Business District Association were trained by the China Productivity Center<sup>188</sup> in 2000. At the end of the pre-practice stage, the consultant supplied by the Ministry of Economic Affairs considered whether the Tahsi Business District had potential development abilities and needed support for another three years. The Tahsi Image Business District Association successfully completed the pre-practice stage and was given an opportunity for three-year-training from 2001 to 2003, conducted by the Corporate Synergy Development Center.

The first-year project is devoted to building a model for the original businesses and industries within the commercial district. The second-year project is designed to strengthen the model for the businesses and the industries that have great impacts in the short term, or which cause customers to stay longer. The third-year project is to put into practice the model for the businesses and the industries, to bring the local culture and the delicate taste of life into their businesses.

Three primary mechanisms of the project are organizational training, operation management, and product promotion. The organization training has three aspects:

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<sup>186</sup> Kuo, Ming-Hsiung, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 14 January, 2009, The Ti-Yi Grocery Store, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

<sup>187</sup> The project was practiced within the Tahsi Historic District, which included the area compassed by the Hoping Road, the Chungyang Road, the Chungshan Road, and the Chungcheng Road.

<sup>188</sup> The professional consultant who led the training was commissioned by the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

association organizing, association operation training, and visiting other commercial districts. The operation management has four aspects: the public facilities construction plan, analysis of the attribution of customers, maintenance of the environment, and training for individual stores. Product promotion also has three aspects: the promotion plan for the local specialties, establishment of the guide tour system, the identification system for the stores, and promotional events for the commercial district.

Within the four-year training, achievements of the project are as follows:

1. The Tahsi Image Business District Association was established and operated.
2. Store signs within the Tahsi Traditional District (except Hoping Road) were redesigned and changed. The association set up frames for the signs and helped the store owners to design their own signs by themselves. Stores which joined an association and received training provided by the consultant were given certificates to differentiate them with those that did not.
3. The local government also provided funding for the project to improve basic commercial infrastructures, such as putting electrical facilities underground, improving street accessibility, and beautifying the street.
4. The consultant offered training courses in promotional skills, the marketing strategies of furniture stores, management and the design of stores, analysis of consumer preference and customer behavior, and the design and manufacturing of posters.
5. The consultant also conducted surveys concerning marketing conditions on Tahsi Traditional Street, attributes of tourists on the traditional street, and attributes of customers of the furniture stores on the traditional street.
6. The consultant also provided training of volunteers and tour guides.
7. The consultant held tours to visit other successful Image Business Districts.
8. The consultant helped the association to hold events such as cuisine and furniture exhibitions.

However, the ex-president of the association stated that while the consultant was good at writing proposals, provided professional training courses for the stores, conducted a basic survey to understand the business environment in the Tahsi Traditional Street, and helped to hold activities to attract more tourists, these strategies were not designed for the Tahsi Traditional Street itself. Therefore, the training was considered useless. In addition to that, the consultant did not respect the original organizations and human relations on the Tahsi Traditional Street, and this caused hostility from members of the association and inhabitants. The project itself was like a big show for the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the main funding provider<sup>189</sup>.

This Project (The Commercial District Renewal Project) was mainly practiced for the governmental supervisors. They (the consultant) showed the result of the activities to the governmental supervisors and gave the supervisors the local souvenirs. That's it.

#### B1. The Tahsi Image Business District Association's Composition and Frame

The association was organized by enthusiastic inhabitants. Its members are the store owners on the Tahsi Traditional Street. There were about 40 members when the association was first organized, and it had 236 members in 2007<sup>190</sup>. The primary purpose of the association is to re-develop and promote the businesses of the Tahsi Traditional Street. The actual leadership of the association is the board formed by directors and supervisors. The chairperson of the board of directors is elected by the directors, and he or she is the president of the association. The president designates the Chief Executive. And the Chief Executive chooses the Executive Secretary. The Chief Executive organizes the executive group, which includes the Activity Section, Education and Training Section, Guiding Tour Section, Public Relation and

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<sup>189</sup> Kuo, Ming-Hsiung, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 14 January, 2009, The Ti-Yi Grocery Store, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

<sup>190</sup> The roster of 2007 was provided by Tahsi Image Business District Association.

Administration section, and Environmental Maintenance Section, and General Affairs Section<sup>191</sup>.

The association usually holds its board of directors and supervisory meeting four times a year, and the meeting for all members annually. Ideas for future projects are usually provided by the president of the association, and, after suggestions are agreed upon by the board of directors and the supervisors in the board meetings, the records of meeting and the project proposals are sent to the Tahsi Township Office or the Taoyuan County Government to apply for the funding if the association has insufficient funds<sup>192</sup>.

#### B2. The Tahsi Image Business District Association's Funding

Beyond the first four years, the operation funding for the association comes from the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Taoyuan County Government. The association became self-sufficient after the consultant withdrew. However, the ex-president of the association has attested that the association can not afford to organize larger events or projects without government support. The primary income source of the association is member fees. The association also earns money from selling souvenir T-shirts and Christmas trees. Finally, surplus government funds for activities are a source of income<sup>193</sup>.

#### B3. The Function of the Association

Since the completion of the Commercial District Renewal Project, the association has continued to hold visiting tours of the other successful Image Business Districts in Taiwan and examples of transformation overseas, such as the Sanhsia and

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<sup>191</sup> The Corporate Synergy Development Center, "Tahsi Image Business District Association" (Taoyuan: The Corporate Synergy Development Center, 2000).

<sup>192</sup> Kuo, Ming-Hsiung, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 14 January, 2009, The Ti-Yi Grocery Store, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

Yingko traditional streets in 2007, Hsinkang, Pinghsi Attractive Business District<sup>194</sup>, Tongshan Image Business District<sup>195</sup>, and the renewal of the traditional market in Singapore in 2008<sup>196</sup>. In turn, other Image Business District Associations visit the Tahsi Image Business District to inspect and learn from its work.

In the past, craftsmen on Hoping Road used waste material from shrines to make whipping tops for their children. Almost everyone in Tahsi can still play whipping tops. To promote this traditional wood-based industry and to preserve this traditional toy, the Tahsi Township Office commissioned the association, and the Corporate Synergy Development Center assisted the association in holding a whipping top competition in 2002. The activity was very popular, as a result, a Whipping Top Festival has been held yearly since 2003<sup>197</sup>.

The Go Game is the biggest nation-wide event in Tahsi, and has been organized by the association every year since 2001. Before the day of the game, the commissioner of the game holds three meetings for work distribution and preparation. Funding comes from the Tahsi Township Office, but a registration fee is also charged. The contestants for this game are from locations throughout the nation, about 1000 in all every year, with about the same number of contestants' companies. The game has brought huge economic benefits to the stores of the Tahsi Traditional Street, as well as advertizing the name of the Tahsi Traditional Street<sup>198</sup>.

After the renewal project was finished, the association also designed activities such as the trail hiking. The tour of the trails in Tahsi is with the activities of the

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<sup>194</sup> The name of the "Image Business District" was changed to "Attractive Business District" after 2003.

<sup>195</sup> The work report of the Tahsi Image Business District Association 2007.

<sup>196</sup> The report of the tour of the Marking and management of Singapore.2008. (<http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/js-688/archive?l=a&page=6>).

<sup>197</sup> Hsien-Yuan Hsieh), "A Study of Interrelation Among Participants of Tahsi Traditional Street Redevelopment" (*MA thesis, Hua-Fan University*, 2006), 67.

<sup>198</sup> The work report of the Tahsi Image Business District Association 2007. Kuo, Ming-Hsiung, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 14 January, 2009, The Ti-Yi Grocery Store, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

Tahsi Traditional Street. For example, after the participants collected the stamps that can be gathered on the trails, they can receive free coupons for shopping in the stores on the street. This activity introduces people to the trails in Tahsi, which are less familiar to tourists, and also stimulates the patronage of the stores, which are members of the association on Tahsi Traditional Street. The biggest problem with this activity, however, is that it requires a huge budget. Besides that, it is unfair to stores that do not join the association, which have complained about this activity, and this became a source of conflict within the community<sup>199</sup>.

Due to the lack of funding, some inexpensive activities are provided by the association, such as Well-Ground Drawing and the Hometown Sketch Game. Well-Ground Drawing is held once every year and lasts for several days. The association blocks off the Chungshan Road and opens it as a large drawing paper for participants, who can buy painting tools from the association, and can represent their views of Tahsi Traditional Street by drawing them on the road. The participants can represent their opinions of Tahsi Traditional Street on the road. To encourage participation, the association provides prizes to the winners<sup>200</sup>.

In the second drawing game, the contestants choose scenic spots on Tahsi Traditional Street, and draw them. The association invites a professional to pick the best drawings and winners receive awards. These two activities can attract the tourists and help them to understand and explore more about the Tahsi Traditional Street. Besides that, community members get the chance to communicate with their neighbors<sup>201</sup>.

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<sup>199</sup> Kuo, Ming-Hsiung), interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 14 January, 2009, The Ti-Yi Grocery Store, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

<sup>200</sup> Kuo, Ming-Hsiung, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 14 January, 2009, The Ti-Yi Grocery Store, Taoyuan, Taiwan.

<sup>201</sup> The work report of the Tahsi Image Business District Association. Kuo, Ming-Hsiung, interview by Yi-Hsin Lo, 14 January, 2009, The Ti-Yi Grocery Store, Taoyuan, Taiwan.



In addition to these activities, as mentioned earlier, the association helps to control traffic. The board of directors, supervisors, and committee members take charge of the traffic control point in front of the Chungcheng Road during weekends.

### ***Conclusion***

Through viewing these two organizations—the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee and the Sanchiaoyung Association—issues and influences affecting the central commercial district of the Sanhsia Historic District can be collected and analyzed. These offer some idea of the conflict between commercial tourism and local culture.

In the restoration of the Sanhsia Traditional Street, all of the inhabitants and store owners had to move out for two to three years. After the restoration, few were willing to move back to the street because the place felt different. Store owners and inhabitants had gotten used to their new lives and decided that they would rather live in a location away from the street. Therefore, although the arcade and the front of the shophouses on the street were restored, they did not retain the lives of the original residences. After the restoration, in order to increase usage of the store fronts, the boards of the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee encouraged property owners to lease their space to store owners outside of the Sanhsia Traditional Street. The outside store owners were not concerned with the history of the street, and made it more like a night market.

The restoration plan for the Sanhsia Traditional Street was mainly decided upon by the government. At the beginning of the restoration, more than half of the inhabitants did not support the preservation plan. However, after the restoration, because of the promotion of the Taipei County Government and the Sanhsia Township Office, the Sanhsia Traditional Street became popular after a series of opening events. An increasing number of tourists came to visit so most committee members (who were

original property owners) saw the benefit of the restoration and decided to raise the rent for their store fronts. However, this forced a few original stores who could not afford the high rent to move out. It also indirectly encouraged chain souvenir stores to locate in the area because they could afford the higher rent by selling their mass-produced, machine-made products.

The Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee, promoted by the Taipei County government and formed by the Syu Yu Jian Architects & Associates, organized the property owners and provided them with a framework to go forward. The unanticipated problem remains that the committee cannot be registered, so it is impossible to accept funding from the Taipei County Government or the Sanhsia Township Office. As a result, the committee has had limited success in achieving its goals within past three years. The committee has chiefly been coordinating volunteer activities between the government, property owners, and store owners, and promoting order and sanitation.

Although the establishment of the committee was a beneficial way to administer the Sanhsia Traditional Street, some negative decisions contradictory to the goals of the committee were made. The property owners raised the rents on the street arbitrarily and disregarded the opinions and financial problems of store owners. The property owners and the store owners did not have a platform for clear communication, perhaps because some property owners only cared about transient profits and ignored the public goals of the street. Besides that, another shortage of the composition of the committee is that it excluded people who were not from Sanhsia Traditional Street so that opinions of outsiders, such as the local historical society, were not heard.

As to the Sanchiaoyung Association, it shifted its gears to the research and the development of Sanhsia indigo and had less to do with the development and the management of the Sanhsia Traditional Street. Although the Sanchiaoyung

Association is not composed exclusively of Sanhsia Town residents, members devote themselves to the affairs of the association, and have displayed the enthusiastic support of the local culture. The boards and members of the association are clear about their goals and the means to achieve those goals. The association is flexible and well-operated. They applied funding for indigo research plans from the government or related foundations and put the results of the research into their indigo businesses. The Indigo Festival and the dyehouse attract many tourists and customers for their indigo industries, the specialty of Sanhsia, indigo. The courses in indigo dyeing are held not only for tourists but also for promoting connections within the community. The association achieved its goals: the redevelopment of local industry and to inspiring a sense of community. However, this did not influence the community on the Sanhsia Traditional Street. The ex-Chief Executive of Sanchiaoyung, Chiung-Jen Lin, felt regret that the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee did not play the proper role of management of the street in terms of keeping its original industries and fabric. In his view and that of others, the street needs a more powerful and more enthusiastic association to promote it.

For the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society and the Tahsi Image Business District Association, issues and influences of these two organizations might explain why conflicts arose between the commercial concerns and the local culture sensitivity and the inhabitants' quality of life.

The Beautification of Historic Village and the Development of Community Project in Tahsi, Taoyuan, which was undertaken by the Tsao-tien-wei Workshop on Hoping Road is the turning point differentiated the approach taken with the Tahsi Traditional Street from the Sanhsia Traditional Street. In this project, professionals used a competition to choose the most beautiful facades in Tahsi Historic District and to arouse the notice of people who lived in the historic shophouses on Hoping Road.

Moreover, the activity encouraged the residents to learn the history of their families and their shophouses. The Tsao-tien-wei Workshop held meetings of the residents and increased their sense of place. Thus, the inhabitants decided to set up their own association. In contrast to the restoration of the Sanhsia Traditional Street, the workshop and the society sponsored an activity, “Traditional Street Changes Its Clothes with New Charming Signs,” to forge a sense of shared purpose and to empower the store owners. Thus, when the restoration was conducted on Hoping Road, the society and inhabitants were highly involved. The community planners help residents to design their facades and arcades, and the supervisor meetings, which were led by an architect on Hoping Road, were held every two weeks. This meant that the inhabitants of Hoping Road remained tied together by the society and they continued to preserve their historic shophouses and improve their living environment.

As for the Sanhsia Traditional Street, the Sanchiaoyung Association aroused inhabitants’ enthusiasm for preserving the historic shophouses during the preservation period. However, it is pity that the effort of the Sanchiaoyung Association stopped after the shophouses of the Sanhsia Traditional Street were preserved. For three years after the restoration, the identity of the place and the texture of the community’s relationship did not exist on the Sanhsia Traditional Street. By contrast, the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society provided an intermediate role between the inhabitants, architects and contractors during the restoration. It also offered a physical place for conversations between the inhabitants.

However, it seems that the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society played an important role in creating a sense of community among inhabitants. Some residents regard the society as representing residents of Hoping Road, and the Tahsi Image Business District Association as representing residents of Chungyang Road, Chungshan Road, and Chungcheng Road because the Beautification Project had its

first success on Hoping Road. Therefore, the development of the community and establishment of the society are considered the business of the inhabitants of Hoping Road. Although the Beautification Project was later also benefited Chungyang Road, Chungshan Road, and Chungcheng Road, the effects of the project have not been as positive as those on Hoping Road.

After the withdrawal of the Tsaotienwei Workshop, the society started to operate by itself. However, parts of the functions of the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society did not last, due to a lack of professionals and local successors. Even though the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society is still devoted to holding training courses and activities to bring the community together and attract tourists, the influence of the committee is getting weaker. Venders have begun gathering on the traditional street on weekends and store signs frequently violate regulations.

As for the Tahsi Image Business District Association, the Commercial District Renewal Project is supposed to improve educational opportunities for store owners, and also cultivate the operational ability of the association, but the goal has not been successfully achieved. When the project is completed, the association can only survive on member fees and government support. The association is merely the channel for receiving funding from the government and holding activities for governmental supervisors, and broadcasting information about courses provided by the government to stores. Although the association maintains some small activities within its limited budget, these activities have little impact on making the street more prosperous or drawing store owners and inhabitants together.

## CONCLUSION

A successful preservation project should not only preserve tangible buildings but also sustain the original community and local culture of the traditional streets. In this thesis, the preservation result for the Sanhsia Traditional Street represented conflicts of commercial concerns versus local culture and tourism and quality of life for inhabitants; however, the preservation for the Tahsi Traditional Street did not. This thesis has examined the process of preservation and restoration and also analyzed the structures and roles of the main characters—the Sanchiaoyung Association, Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee, Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society, and the Tahsi Image Business District Association involved with the traditional streets in Sanhsia and Tahsi. Issues and influences found in the discussion might explain the different results seen in the Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets.

As for the four organizations, their lack of stability and sufficient funding are the biggest problems. Apart from the Sanchiaoyung Association, which set up the dyehouse and has constant income from indigo dyeing classes and products, the organizations primarily count on subsidies from the government. Only a little bit of income comes from membership fees, donations, and guide tours.

All four organizations lack sound organizing systems. Because they lack sufficient funding and human resources, the organizational structures are loose. They can only afford a few employees, and the presidents and chief-executives have other jobs. Most core workers of the organizations are volunteers. The Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee is still an unofficial organization, and does not even have its own office because of a lack of funds.

The other three were registered as non-profit organizations, but have only a few staff members. The limitations of the organizations' resources also constrain their abilities in terms of community development and management of the traditional streets. The government tried to resolve this problem by providing funding to support activities, conducting the Commercial District Renewal Project to foster community-based organizations; however, this has not turned out to be feasible.

The sound constitution of the organizations is as important as members' enthusiasm. When most inhabitants of the Sanhsia Traditional Street supported the move to demolish their shophouses, the Sanchiaoyung Association, which is primarily composed of elementary school teachers, convinced the inhabitants to save their shophouses.

Furthermore, an efficient organization usually has good communication among its board of the directors, supervisors and members. The president of the Tahsi Image Business District Association noted that he is the main opinion provider and decision maker. It is a major problem for an organization if the president is the only one who is involved. If decisions are made by few members of the organization, the organization becomes little more than a group of acquaintances.

Besides that, the more frequent member interaction, the more close and effective the organization. The core workers of the Sanchiaoyung Association even held meetings twice a week when events were going to be held.

Although the conflicts of commercial interests versus local culture and tourism versus the inhabitants' quality of life occurred less on the Tahsi Traditional Street, organizations in Tahsi have another potential problem: the split between residents. Because the community development project, which was first conducted on Hopping Road, promoted the establishment of the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment

Society, even now some inhabitants feel that the Society belongs to the inhabitants of Hoping Road.

Based on case studies of four organizations, it appears that the Sanchiaoyung Association is a bottom-up organization that inspires preservation awareness in the community and, ultimately, works for the preservation and the restoration of Sanhsia Traditional Street. However, during the restoration, the influence of the Sanchiaoyung Association declined. After the restoration, it shifted gear to researching Sanhsia's history and promoting the indigo industry in Sanhsia, and the sense of place disappeared. It is a pity that the organization does not continue to involve itself in the management of the Sanhsia Traditional Street.

Following the restoration, the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee became the main management agent of the Sanhsia Traditional Street. However, it failed to succeed in managing the Sanhsia Traditional Street. That failure is partially due to a lack of support for the legislation, since the committee did not acquire its official position. It became a weak management agent, and still depended on the support of the government in terms of projects and finance. Besides that, without the support of the younger generations on the street and without zealous action in managing the traditional street, the Sanhsia Traditional Street could not maintain its original culture and became more and more focused on tourism.

In Tahsi, the primary initiator of the preservation and development in the community is the Chief of Tahsi Township Office. The Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society was set up with the encouragement of the Beautification Project. The society followed the mission of the Tsao-tien-wei Workshop and the strategies of the project, and kept evoking inhabitants' sense of place in the community by holding activities, classes, and meetings although some members of the community considered it only an organization for residents of the Hoping Road.



However, on Hoping Road, it successfully reminded inhabitants to care about their community. The inhabitants were willing to participate in classes and activities held in their community. Although now the influence of the society is getting weaker, it has allowed inhabitants to gradually involve themselves in community affairs in the preservation, the restoration and the management stages.

As for the establishment of Tahsi Image Business District Association, the government understood the important of community-based organizations on the traditional streets. Therefore, it tried to maintain several programs for supporting the establishment of community-based organizations. The Tahsi Image Business District Association is the organization set up by the Commercial District Renewal Program on the Tahsi Traditional Street. However, the project has not successfully achieved its goal. The program involves a lot of classes and training in organizational development and also encourages organizations to hold activities, but these are not designed for this particular commercial district. They do not foster the community spirit that is needed in local community affairs. Once the classes and the support for the program were gone, the organizations barely survived. However, the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society, which was also encouraged by government project, became deeply involved in the community of the street and kept the intangible atmosphere of the community alive. It seems that the establishment of an Image Business District Association may increase management ability, but it is useless for maintaining the characteristics and life styles of traditional streets.

Hence the conclusion of this thesis is that successful preservation does not depend on whether traditional streets have organizations, but on useful strategies that are continuously practiced by those organizations. Although the Sanchiaoyung Association tried to preserve local culture and brought a sense of community to the Sanhsia area, it has only limited influence. Sanhsia Traditional Street Management

Committee has the greatest power to preserve the atmosphere of the traditional street. However, the committee did not consider keeping the original social fabric and community on the street important. As for the Tahsi Traditional Street, the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society continued to hold events and meetings to involve residents to involve residents in the affairs of the community and successfully retained a sense of community. Hence, an organization which intends to preserve the traditional streets should inspire a sense of community in the inhabitants and put people and resources together in holding meetings and planning activities. Yet, strategies used for a successful preservation case conducted by an organization in one community might not work in another community because of the different fabrics of communities.

Successful preservation does not depend on whether the traditional streets have organizations, but having useful strategies which are continuously practiced by organizations is the key point. Although the Sanchiaoyung Association tried to preserve the local culture and brought a sense of community to the Sanhsia area, its influence did not transfer to the Sanhsia Traditional Street because it was considered the responsibility of the Sanhsia Traditional Street Management Committee. The committee did not see keeping the original fabric of the community on the street as important. As for the Tahsi Traditional Street, the Taoyuan Tahsi Old Street Redevelopment Society continued to hold activities and meetings to involve residents in the affairs of the community and successfully retained a sense of the community on the street.

Moreover, the preservation of traditional streets maintains not only the architecture of the past but also asparts of traditional life styles and communities. Only by keeping the traditional streets as places for inhabitants to identify with their communities can one preserve the intangible atmospheres of the traditional streets, and

this is the only way to avoid a traditional street becoming just another night market in Taiwan.

Due to restrictions in terms of time and accessibility of resources, only a few interviews have been conducted. More interviews need to be conducted with the heads of neighborhood or residents to get better understanding of interactions between organizations and residents. More information about shophouses throughout south-Asia should be reviewed to see both common problems and solutions.

Another limitation of this thesis is that the case studies of Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets may not fully represent the manner in which similar streets in Taiwan are treated. On top of that, still other community-based organizations influenced the Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets, such as the Hsinfu Community Development Organization in Tahsi and the Chunghsiao Community Development Organization in Sanhsia. This thesis did not focus on them because they are not as important as the four organizations discussed. Moreover, attitudes and behaviors at the three levels government play important roles in the preservation of traditional streets in Taiwan. The conflicts about the manner of preservation among the central government its preservation policies often make a difference. However, due to limitations of time and resources for collecting information, this thesis emphasizes only the influence of community-based organizations on the Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets. Government behavior might be discussed in other theses in the future.

While this thesis has been in progress, more projects were organized on the Sanhsia and Tahsi traditional streets. The Commercial District Renewal Project took place on the Sanhsia Traditional Street in 2009. The main goal of this project was to find original cultural resources and bring them back to the Sanhsia Traditional Street. This means that the problem which this thesis discusses was also noted by the

government. A new project, the Preservation and Rooted of the History on the Tahsi Traditional Street, which was planned by the Tsaodianwei Workshop previously, is also going to be conducted on Tahsi Traditional Street.

Further studies of traditional streets may consider other aspects of Sanhsia or Tahsi traditional streets. Other problems could include how to revive the local economy of some traditional streets in rural places such as Hukou and Pinglin Traditional Streets. Future researchers may also focus on the commercialization of the products on the traditional streets which make traditional streets alike and lack of their uniqueness and specialties.

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